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PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING WITH LIST OF MEMBERS . . .

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ERRATA

On page 169 read Miss Helen Stephenson Bixby in place of Mrs. Marie Parcello Bixby.

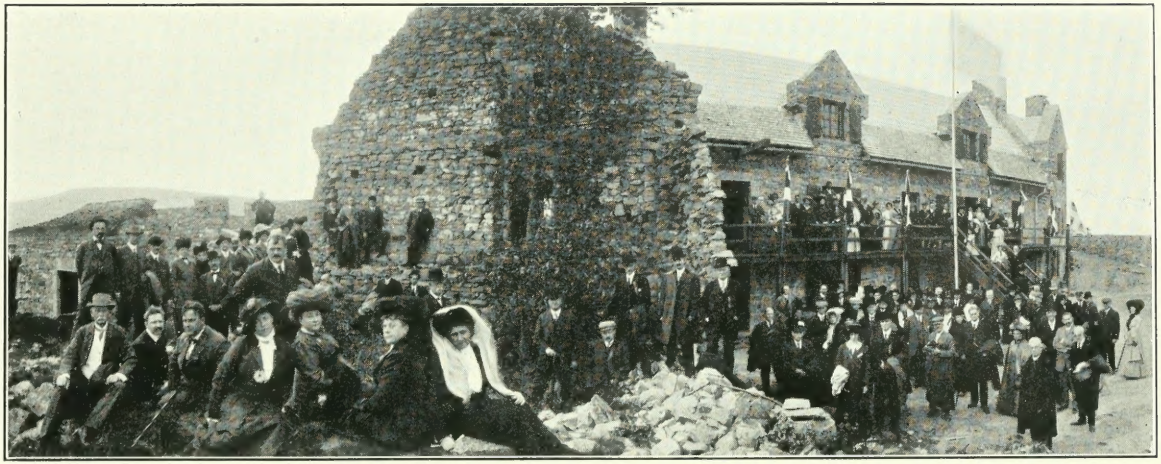

Photo by S. R. Stoddard, Glens Falls

AT FORT TICONDEROGA, OCT. 4, 1910

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING, WITH CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS AND LIST OF MEMBERS.

VOL. X.

PUBLISHED BY THE
NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
1911.

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TRUSTEES

1911.

Gen. Henry E. Tremain	New York	Term Expires		1911
Mr. William Wait	Kinderhook	"	"	1911
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Miss Mary H. Haldane	Cold Spring	"	"	1913
James A. Holden, A. B.	Glens Falls	"	"	1913
Hon. Irvin W. Near	Hornell	"	"	1913
Rev. Everett R. Sawyer, D. D.	Hudson Falls	"	"	1913
Hon. Andrew S. Draper, LL.D.	Albany	"	"	1913
Frederick B. Richards, A. B.	Glens Falls	"	"	1913
Thomas E. Finegan, A. M.	Albany	"	"	1913
George K. Hawkins, D. Sc.	Plattsburg	"	"	1913

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Twelfth Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical Association, Held on Lake Champlain, October 4th, 5th and 6th.

This meeting was quite different from any other meeting of the Association so far held. A story of the house-boat party on the Steamer Vermont will appear elsewhere in this annual publication. The record briefly from the secretary's standpoint is as follows:

The first literary session was held October 4th at 8 P. M. on board the steamer Vermont at Ticonderoga. An address of welcome was given by Mrs. Joseph Cook of Ticonderoga, N. Y., in behalf of the Ticonderoga Historical Society of which she is vice-president. The response in behalf of the New York State Historical Association was given by Dr. Sherman Williams of Glens Falls, N. Y. This was followed by papers "The Setting of Lake Champlain History," by John M. Clark, LL. D., Director of the New York State Museum, Albany, N. Y.; "The Black Watch at Ticonderoga," by Frederick B. Richards, A. B., Glens Falls, N. Y.; "Lord Howe," by Frank B. Wickes, Ticonderoga, N. Y.

The second session, held on board Steamer Vermont at Fort Ticonderoga, October 5th, at 9:30 A. M., was the business meeting of the Association. In the absence of the president, Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, First Vice-President, acted as chairman.

Upon motion it was resolved that the reading of the minutes of the previous meeting be omitted.

Annual Report of James A. Holden, Treasurer

Glens Falls, N. Y., Oct. 1, 1910.

To the Officers and Members of the New York State Historical Association:—

Gentlemen: I take pleasure in presenting herewith my annual report as Treasurer of this Association, which is the most satisfactory in many respects of any rendered during our existence as an Association. It shows briefly Assets of $1,924.70 and Disbursements of $646.31, or a balance on hand of $1,278.39. Deducting from this $730.00, paid in on account of the excursion, leaves in the treasury $548.39.

We still have owing us for dues as follows:

97	at	$2.00
59	at	4.00
56	at	6.00
2	at	8.00
1	at	10.00

Outside of the $2.00 list which may be considered collectable, and some of the $4.00 list which will fall under the same head, the balance of the delinquents might as well be dropped at this meeting as at some future date. And I would request that the Secretary and Treasurer be empowered to drop any delinquents who do not pay their dues between the time of this meeting and the first of January when the yearly statements are sent out. Without official action, your Secretary and Treasurer have taken it upon themselves to hold from delivery copies of the recently published proceedings, where the members are more than one year in arrears. They will be notified, with your approval, of this action, and also if this board approves, that their names will be dropped unless their bills for dues are paid as before stated.

Owing to the death of our late Secretary, R. O. Bascom, it was necessary to remove the library of the Association to Glens Falls, to have some cheap but serviceable bookcases made, and a catalogue prepared. It was also deemed advisable to change the style of keeping the list of members to a card index, which was accordingly done. Items covering these expenses appear among the disbursements.

The cost of printing the proceedings this year is $628.20, which can easily be taken care of at the end of the year.

Through the hard work of the present Secretary, F. B. Richards, a number of desirable members have been added during the past year. A determined effort on the part of each member to add one more to our list, would soon bring us above the thousand mark, the income of which would enable us to not only print the proceedings, but do a number of other things in historical ways, contemplated by our charter but which lack of funds has prevented our carrying out so far.

Congratulating the Association on the fact that an era of prosperity, rather than adversity seems to be approaching in our affairs, I herewith, present this statement for your consideration.

JAMES A. HOLDEN,

Treasurer.

RECEIPTS.

1909.			
1909.			
Oct. 19,	Balance on hand		$276.60
	Rec'd from Dues, Sale of Books, etc., to Sept. 30, 1910	$918.10	
	Rec'd on Account of Champlain Excursion	730.00	
			$1,648.10
			$1,924.70

DISBURSEMENTS.

Gubitz, Record Book	$1.75
J. B. Lyon, Printing Transactions	300.40
J. W. Redway, Expense Account	7.80
Miss Fisher, Stenographer	15.00
F. B. Richards, Postage	10.00
J. A. Holden, Postage	5.00
F. B. Richards, Postage	16.27
J. A. Holden, Postage	10.00

H. Lapham, Moving Library	4.45	
Elwin Seelye, Expense at Park	4.00	
Transferred to Life Membership Fund	50.00	
G. F. Storage Co., Moving Library	4.00	
Express	.95	
Filing Device	8.20	
Stationery, Stamps, Envelopes, etc.	27.50	
Stationery, Stamps, Envelopes, etc.	25.10	
W. O. Stillman, Express	.75	
Index Card System, (Sec'y and Treas)	23.33	
Janitor (Albany Institution)	5.00	
C. W. Cool, Insurance—Library	15.00	
Express	.90	
Express	.85	
G. F. Publishing Co., Supplies	11.00	
G. F. Publishing Co., Supplies	30.00	
Express	1.15	
Bullard Printing Co.	2.25	
Express	1.50	
Express	1.15	
F. B. Richards, Postage, etc.	21.44	
J. A. Holden, Postage	2.50	
Bullard Printing Co.	3.30	
H. Lapham, Work on Library	4.50	
Telegram, State Park Matter	.91	
Express	1.71	
F. B. Richards, Postage, etc.	16.00	
Telegram, Park	.30	
H. D. Mann, Filing Cabinet, etc.	8.25	
Gifford & Williams, Library	3.50	
Express	.60	$646.31
		$1,278.39

BACK DUES

97 @ $ 2.00	$194.00
59 @ 4.00	236.00
56 @ 6.00	336.00

2 @ 8.00	16.00	
1 @ 10.00	10.00	
		$792.00

ASSETS

Cash on Hand	$1,278.00	
Less $730.00 Excursion	730.00	$548.00
Back dues counting in only those back one and two years		$430.00
Total Assets		$978.00

LIABILITIES.

G. F. Publishing Co. Bill, $643.40 (Printing Proceedings—1909)		643.40
Balance		$343.60
Express on proceedings, about 700 volumnes, @ 18c a piece will be about	$126.00	
Amount on hand in Endowment Fund is		$480.00

Upon motion it was resolved that the Treasurer's Report be adopted and placed on file.

Upon motion it was resolved that the Secretary and Treasurer be authorized in sending out bills for annual dues Jan. 1st to notify all members who are more than two years in arrears that unless they remit within the time to be specified in the judgment of the Secretary and Treasurer, that their names will be dropped from the roll of membership.

Mr. Frank Severance, of Buffalo, made a very interesting report for the Committee on Closer Relations between the historical societies of the state. One feature of his remarks was to outline the policy of the Buffalo Historical Society in cataloging historical material and urged that the other historical societies in the state do the same. Not necessarily to acquire the material for itself but to find where this material is, whether it be in private collections or libraries or elsewhere, and catalog it so that it will be possible for others seeking information to use this which would otherwise be inaccessible matter.

Dr. Sherman Williams for the committee on marking historic spots, reported that no new work had been commenced since the completion of the Bloody Pond Park.

Judge Near made a verbal report on the work of the historical societies in the western part of the state.

Miss Haldane as chairman of the committee of the Colonial Dames for marking historic places would like to be notified of any place which is not now marked, and would also like to cooperate with the N .Y. State Historical Association in such work.

Mr. Severance has charge of the preparation of a report which will include every historic place which has been marked in the state, and would like the co-operation of the N. Y. State Historical Association in this work.

Mr. Paltsits made a verbal report for the committe on legislation, enumerating the various influences brought to bear for desirable patriotic legislation.

Upon motion resolved that the Secretary cast one ballot for the following trustees, whose terms of office will expire in 1913:

Hon. James A. Roberts, LL. D., N. Y.; James A. Holden, A. B., Glens Falls; Hon. Irvin W. Near, Hornell; Rev. Everett R. Sawyer, D. D., Hudson Falls; Hon. Andrew S. Draper, LL. D., Albany; Thomas E. Finegan, A. M., Albany; George K. Hawkins, D. Sc., Plattsburg; Miss Mary H. Haldane, Kingston; Frederick B. Richards, A. B., Glens Falls.

Upon motion it was resolved that a vote of thanks of the Association be given to Mrs. Marie Parcello Bixby for her very interesting musical program at the Tuesday evening meeting.

Upon motion the following Resolution, presented by Miss Mary Haldane, was adopted:

Whereas, there is now a well-organized policy in all civilized nations for preserving great spots of natural beauty and sites important by historical associations; and

Whereas, the State of New York recognizes and has especially recognized by recent legislation this policy by providing for the conservation of the Highlands of the Hudson; and

Whereas, it is unfortunately a fact that Storm King Mountain, one of the chief giants of the Highlands, is now being destroyed

by quarrying, and is not included in the lands acquired for state reservation;

Therefore, be it resolved, that the New York State Historical Association, in annual meeting assembled, urges upon the Governor and Legislature, the desirability of including under State guardianship Storm King, Cro's Nest Mountain and other adjoining mountains to be saved from any further destruction and desecration, and

Resolved, that copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the proper agencies through the committee on legislation of this association.

Frank J. Wilder, of Saratoga Springs, made an appeal for the acquiring and preservation of historical antiques, stating that in his business experience he realized that in a few years, with the increasing demand and the decreasing supply it would be almost impossible to get what could now perhaps be easily acquired. Mr. Wilder also outlined the desirability of holding an annual meeting of the Historical Association at Saratoga Springs.

Upon motion it was resolved that a vote of thanks of the Association be tendered to Mr. and Mrs. S. H. P. Pell for their kindness in throwing open their grounds to the Association Tuesday, and that they also be informed of the appreciation of the Association for the courtesies and attentions shown the members and their guests that day.

Upon motion resolved that the thanks of the Association be tendered the Society of Colonial Wars of the State of Vermont for their invitation to the Association to make use of their rooms while in Burlington.

Motion made to adjourn.

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS
Secretary.

At the conclusion of the meeting of the Association a meeting of the trustees of the Association was held.

Present:—T. Astley Atkins, Miss Mary H. Haldane, Frank H. Severance, Victor H. Paltsits, Irvin W. Near, Grenville M. Ingalsbe, George K. Hawkins, Thomas E. Finegan, Sherman Williams, and Frederick B. Richards.

Upon motion resolved that Judge Atkins be chairman of the meeting.

Upon motion resolved that the reading of the minutes of previous meeting be dispensed with.

Judge Ingalsbe reported for the committee on the Wilt-Wyck Records that the committee had not as yet been able to meet at Kingston to look into the matter of the desirability of the publication of these records in the annual proceedings.

Upon motion resolved that the committee be continued and that they be authorized to call for such assistance as they should deem necessary and to make report at the mid-winter meeting of the Society.

Judge Ingalsbe made a verbal report for the committee to amend the original articles of incorporation.

Upon motion resolved that the committee be continued.

Upon motion resolved that Mr. Finegan be substituted for Dr. Williams on this committee, making the committee for the amendment of the charter to be composed of Messrs. Ingalsbe, Ferris and Finegan.

On motion resolved that the Secretary cast one ballot for the election of James A. Roberts as president of the Association.

Upon motion resolved that the Secretary cast one ballot for the election of Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Hudson Falls, as First Vice-President; Sherman Williams, Pd. D., Glens Falls, as Second Vice-President; Dr. William O. Stillman, Albany, as Third Vice-President; Mr. James A. Holden, Glens Falls, as Treasurer; Mr. Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls, as Secretary; Dr. William A. E. Cummings, Ticonderoga, as Ass't Secretary for the coming year.

Moved that a committee of three be appointed, consisting of Mr. Finegan, Dr. Hawkins and Dr. Williams for the purpose of corresponding with the high schools and libraries of the state for the object of securing their membership in this Association.

Upon motion resolved that the Secretary and Assistant Secretary be authorized to prepare a circular letter and membership blanks to be sent to the members of the Association; that such letter inclosing five membership blanks be mailed to each active member and emphasize co-operation in increasing the membership and efficiency of the Association.

Resolved that the president be authorized to appoint standing committees for the ensuing year.

Upon motion resolved that a committee of three on necrology be appointed, the duties of which shall be the compilation of brief sketches of deceased members for publication in the annual proceedings, and that this be made one of the annual standing committees to be appointed by the President.

The following new members were elected:—

LIFE MEMBERS

Potts, Charles Edwin	170 Rugby Road, Brooklyn

ACTIVE MEMBERS

Ashworth, Percy F.	Ticonderoga.
Baker, John W.	Rochester
Barcus, James Q.	57 State St., Albany.
Bates, Norman L.	Oswego.
Cameron, Edward M.	Albany
Cook, Thomas J.	Ticonderoga.
DeGarmo, William Burton, M. D.	616 Madison Ave., New York
Furness, Charles V.	Glens Falls
Gilbert, Charles N.	787 Madison Ave., Albany.
Gray, Emmet J.	Whitehall
Holden, C. E.	Whitehall
Johnstown Historical Society	Johnstown
LaFountaine, Hon. Louis C.	Champlain.
McDonald, William A.	Gloversville
Noble, Henry Harmon	Essex
Peck, Gen. Theodore S.	Burlington, Vt.
Phelps, Albert H., M. D.	Glens Falls.
Pell, Stephen H. P.	43 Exchange Place, New York
Planten, John R.	44 Eighth Ave., New York
Pyrke, Berne A.	Port Henry.
Riley, Hon. John B.	Plattsburg
Royce, Mrs. Caroline H.	Westport
Ryan, John J., LL. B.	Medina

Slade, Mrs. Emma H.	332 W. 87th St., New York
Southerland, Hon. Geo. P.	49 Wall St., New York.
Spaulding, George B.	Stonington, Conn.
Squires, Eben H. P.	White Plains.
Stanton, Lucius M.	596 Broadway, New York.
Stoddard, S. R.	Glens Falls.
Storer, Dr. Charles	Amsterdam.
Sullivan, Hermon E.	Whitehall.
Todd, Hiram C.	Saratoga Spa.
Weed, George S.	Plattsburgh.
Weed, Hon. Smith M.	Plattsburgh.
West, Arthur F.	Lake George.
West, Howard M.	Glens Falls.

Upon motion the meeting was adjourned.

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS,
Secretary.

The third session, held in Pavillion at Fort St. Frederick, October 5th, at 1:30 P. M., was opened by a paper, "The Iron Ore Industry of the Lake Champlain Valley," by S. Norton, Mineville, N. Y. Following this were given "Carriers of the Lake," by Augustine A. Heard, General Passenger Agent D. & H. Co., Albany, N. Y.; and the annual address "The Worth to a Nation of a Sense of Its Past," by Rev. John M. Thomas, D. D., President Middlebury College, Vermont.

The fourth session October 5th, 7:30 P. M. on board Steamer at Burlington was opened by an address by Jos. Armand Bedard, M. D. President Societe historique Franco-Americaine, Lynn, Mass., followed by "General Observations on the War of 1812," by George K. Hawkins, A. M., D. Sc., Principal Plattsburgh State Normal School, Plattsburgh, N. Y.; and "Songs of Other Lands," by Marie Parcello Bixby, Member Mary Washington Chapter, D. A. R.

On receipt of telegrams from the Mayor, President of the Chamber of Commerce, Judge Charles F. Cantine, and Everett Fowler of Kingston, inviting the Association to hold the next annual meeting at Kingston, a special meeting of the trustees was called. This was held on Steamer Vermont at 9:30 A. M., October 6th.

Present:—Messrs. G. M. Ingalsbe, W. A. E. Cummings, T. Astley Atkins, Sherman Williams, Irvin W. Near, Rev. Joseph E. King, Frank H. Severance, George K. Hawkins, Victor H. Paltsits, Frederick B. Richards, and Miss Mary H. Haldane.

The telegrams as above stated were read and upon motion it was resolved that the place of the next annual meeting be referred to the Committee on Program with power.

Upon motion it was resolved that the Secretary be a committee on publication of the next annual proceedings with power to add anyone whom he should choose to the committee.

Upon motion it was resolved that fifty copies of the pamphlet, "The Ticonderoga Expedition of 1775" with biographical sketch of Robert O. Bascom, by Grenville M. Ingalsbe, taken from the last annual proceedings, be presented to Mrs. Robert O. Bascom.

Upon motion it was resolved that the Treasurer refund the advance payment to those who were not able to attend the Lake Champlain meeting and to make equitable settlement with those who were not able to attend the full meeting.

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS,
Secretary.

The fifth session was held at Isle LaMotte, on board the Steamer, October 6th, 11 A. M. The first paper presented was "The First Missionaries Who Crossed Lake Champlain," by Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S. J., Editor of America, Author, Pioneer Priests of North America, New York City. At this point the following resolution was presented by W. Max Reid:

We are living in an era of Centennial Celebrations, an era of ceremonials for the marking of historic spots and the commemoration of historic events, as evidenced by the numerous tablets we are to unveil or inspect on this pilgrimage over this historic lake.

For many months I have been possessed with the desire to have the crystal waters of Lake George exalted by having a suitable recognition of the naming of that beautiful lake by Father Isaac Jogues.

Two centuries and a half ago, or to be exact, in August, 1642, Isaac Jogues discovered Lake George. On May 28th, 1646 he

again paddled over its waters. This journey was one of pleasure and high resolve. He had passed through torture by savages, and through suffering and privation at the hands of unsympathetic white men. Once accorded the scant hospitality of an outcast and beggar at the hands of his Jesuit brothers in France he had subsequently been received by them and the Archbishop of Paris with sympathy and with high honors, his poor maimed hands kissed by Queen Anne of Austria and granted a special dispensation by Pope Urban VIII, allowing him to celebrate the Holy Sacrament despite his mangled hands.

He had at last been received with favor by the Mohawks, and was returned to the Mohawk Valley as the Apostle of the Mission of the Martyrs to the Iroquois.

Did not this thought, together with the coming of the feast day of Corpus Christi influence Jogues in selecting the name Lac du St. Sacrament for the lake he had discovered and which had witnessed his direct dispair, and his greatest exaltation as a messenger of peace?

I think so. I wish the name had never been changed. Why not yet perpetuate the name of Lac du St. Sacrament somewhere within its borders with a suitable tablet to his memory, erected on some small island in the vicinity of Bolton, rebaptised Isle du St. Sacrament?

If this body will receive the suggestion with favor I move that a committee of five be appointed to consider the matter of proper recognition of the naming of the lake, Lac du St. Sacrament by Father Jogues, by monument or tablet to be placed on a small island in Lake George.

This resolution was adopted.

On account of the illness of James Austin Holden, A. B., Glens Falls, N. Y., the paper prepared by him entitled "New Historical Light on the Real Burial Place of Lord Howe" was read by Dr. Sherman Williams. "The War Path" was then given by Edward T. W. Gillespie, Vice President Stamford Historical Society, and Author Historical Sketch of Stamford, Stamford, Conn.

At dinner on the last night of the trip Dr. Cummings rose and spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the New York State Historical Association:—

As chairman on the Committee of Arrangements for this annual meeting now drawing to a close, I am authorized to report that our committee have felt it a rare privilege to arrange for the comfort and pleasure of a company so gallant and fair as the one that has graced this occasion, or for one so considerate when we failed in the full measure of our good intentions, or so appreciative when we happily succeeded in approximating to our ideals of what we felt that you deserved.

In so far as we have been able to arrange successively for the meeting we find the causes of our success to be—1st—the able assistance and co-operation of the members of the Association themselves and our outside friends who willingly became co-guarantors with us of our underwriting agreement which established us on a firm foundation financially for the enterprise and to these we return sincere thanks.

Another factor we would add, is the inspiration of the work of the program committee in the papers they arranged for presentation here.

We wish to acknowledge the obligation of the committee and the association as well to Mr. Augustine A. Heard for his interest and helpful suggestions, for the generous spirit in which he met our requests in the matter of detail and the keen appreciation at all times manifested of the underlying motive of this meeting.

To these factors making towards the accomplishment of what we hoped to do, we must add the willing co-operation of the several localities we have visited in our cruise of historical research, in that they brought to us as far as they were able, their rarest treasures from the past, that we might enjoy to the full, the historian's delight of really seeing what has been read about by the study lamp.

We would also multiply this, by the entire devotion to the promotion of our comfort and pleasure, at all times shown by every employe on this steamer from Captain Rockwell to those we have not seen, but whom we know must have done their full duty to assure so complete a success as has been accomplished in this direction. And now to add to our pleasure and soften the pangs of parting we have the most interesting program arranged for us by

the good citizens of Plattsburgh and the graceful farewell of the reception to our organization by the Saranac Chapter.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of this Association in appreciation of all these aids to the success of this meeting and all the successful efforts to promote our comfort and happiness, I move the following resolutions:

Resolved, that the New York State Historical Association hereby extend to Mr. A. A. Heard, General Passenger Agent, D. & H. R. R.; to Mr. G. A. Loomis, General Manager of the Champlain Transportation Company; to Captain Rockwell of the Steamer Vermont and his crew and to all the employes on the Steamer Vermont their sincere thanks for their earnest efforts to promote the comfort and pleasure of the meeting.

Resolved, that the State Historical Association hereby tender thanks and assurances of appreciation to Mr. and Mrs. Stephen H. P. Pell of Fort Ticonderoga; to Mr. Howland Pell of New York city; to the Ticonderoga Pulp and Paper Company of Ticonderoga; to Mr. M. F. Barnes of Chimney Point; to General Theodore S. Peck of Burlington and to the local committee of Plattsburgh and especially to the Saranac Chapter, D. A. R., for courtesies extended.

The resolutions were adopted by acclamation with great applause.

Afterwards Hon. Astley T. Atkins of New York moved a resolution of thanks to Dr. Cummings for his efficient work in caring for the welfare and comfort of the Association and its guests which was also adopted with great applause, causing the modest executive chairman of arrangements much embarrassment.

The sixth session was held Oct. 6th, at 8 P. M. at Plattsburgh, in the State Normal School Building. Victor Hugo Paltsits, State Historian, Albany, N. Y., presented a paper on "Historical Societies; Their Work and Worth." This was followed by an illustrated lecture, "The First Flying of the Stars and Stripes in Battle and the Saratoga Campaign," by Charles William Burrows, President The Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS,
Secretary.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING TRUSTEES, MARCH, 1910.

Meeting of the trustees of the New York State Historical Association held at Hotel Ten Eyck, Albany, N. Y., at 11:15 A. M., March 22, 1910, at the call of the President.

There were present Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Dr. Sherman Williams, Dr. William O. Stillman, James A. Holden, Dr. W. A. E. Cummings, Victor H. Paltsits, Dr. John H. Brandow, and Frederick B. Richards.

In the absence of President Roberts, upon motion it was resolved that Dr. William O. Stillman be chairman of the meeting. The reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

James A. Holden, as treasurer reported as follows:

RECEIPTS.

1909.			
Oct. 14	Balance cash on hand	$276.60	
	Rec'd from dues, etc	786.10	
			$1,064.70

DISBURSEMENTS.

1909.		
Nov. 5	W. F. Gubitz, Record Book	$1.75
16	Lyon & Co., Balance Printing Book	300.40
	J. W. Redway, Expense Mt. Vernon	7.80
	Stenographer, Mt. Vernon	15.00
17	F. B. Richards, Postage, Ap. for Membership	10.00
Dec. 8	Postage (Treas.) Receipts, etc	5.00
10	Postage (Richards) Ap. for Membership	16.27
Jan. 5	Postage (Treas.) Statements	10.00
8	Express, Library Work, etc	4.45
11	G. F. Storage, Carting Library to G. F.	4.00
14	Express, Books	.95

19	E. L. Seelye, Exp. Lake George Park.	4.00
18	Hanna & Fulton Checks Transferred to Life Membership Fund.....	50.00
	G. F. Publishing Co., Stationery for Library, Circulars, etc., Stamped Envelopes, Application Blanks...	27.50
	Bullard Press, Application Blanks..	25.10
	H. R. Mann, Filing Cases, etc., for Library	8.20
	National Express, Books.....	.75
27	A. Beaudoin, Cataloguing Library and Making Card Index for Secretary and Treasurer.....	23.33
31	W. O. Stillman, for Janitor at Albany Inst.....	5.00
	C. W. Cool, Insurance Library.....	15.00
Feb. 2	National Express, Books.....	.90
15	National Express, Books.....	.85
21	G. F. Publishing Co., Postals, for Library, etc.	11.00
Mar. 12	G. F. Publishing Co., Half Tone Cuts, Folders, etc., for Book, 1909.....	30.00
		$577.25
	Cash on hand, Mar. 19th.....	$487.45
	G. F. Trust Endowment Fund.....	$430.50

Upon motion it was resolved that the Treasurer's report be accepted and placed on file.

Frederick B. Richards, as committee to obtain and file copy of Right of Way across D. & H. track at Lake George from the State Park to the Lake to be placed on file with the State Comptroller, reported progress. Upon motion it was resolved that the report be accepted and the committee be continued.

Judge Ingalsbe as chairman of the committee in regard to changing the charter, reported progress and upon motion it was resolved that committee be continued.

The committee on Legislation reported activity by several members individually in regard to bills favored by the Association.

Upon motion it was resolved that James A. Holden correspond with the Finance and Ways and Means Committee of the New York State Legislature indorsing the measure to provide for a fence around the Lake George monument in the Battle Park at Lake George and that the trustees approve of such letter.

Dr. Sherman Williams, chairman of the committee on marking Historic Spots said that he had made report to the trustees at the Mount Vernon meeting and that there was no additional report.

Judge Ingalsbe as chairman of the Committee on Closer Relations between the Historical Societies of the State made a verbal report.

In view of the distinguished success of the Committee on Program up to the present time it was unanimously resolved that the committee be continued.

The Committee on the Lake George Park made the following report:

Glens Falls, N. Y., Mar. 22, 1910.

To the Trustees of the New York State Historical Association:—

Gentlemen:

The Committee in charge of the Battle Ground Park at Lake George desire to make the following report:

Last October, either the D. & H. Railroad or parties for whom Robert Imrie, Attorney and Counsellor at Law at Lake George was acting, attempted to run a road from the main highway of Lake George to the beach on the shore of the lake. Their design, if carried out, would have run the road through a part of the park leaving a section of the park on one side of the road, which would have been useless both to the park and to the Town of Caldwell. Your committee strenuously opposed this proceeding on the following grounds:

First, that the Town of Caldwell had no authority to take state property for a road.

Second, that this Association although duly appointed by the Comptroller custodian of the park had no authority to allow any person or persons to trespass upon it, or take any part of it for any purpose whatsoever.

Third, that no written consent from the Comptroller had been given to any person to perform this work.

Fourth, that while the property in question was of little value outside of a possible sentimental or historical one, at the same time in cutting this road through, it would be necessary to disturb the bodies and remains of a large number of soldiers of the Revolutionary and posssibly of the French and Indian War who lie buried at that particular spot.

Fifth, that it was not necessary to make the road at this particular point, in as much as the road could be built entirely outside the lines of the park, except that it might be necessary to remove a number of boulders to make a road, whereas by going through the park, there would be nothing but sand and easy digging.

Your committee employed counsel and put the matter up to the Comptroller's office. About this time Comptroller Gaus died and the Hon. Clark Williams was appointed in his stead.

The situation was fully explained to Mr. Williams and orders received from him not to allow any desecration or trespass of or on the property of the state at this point. Your committee desire to acknowledge the great services rendered the Association by William Cheney, the Acting Caretaker at the park, who at a great sacrifice of popularity and in the face of somewhat determined opposition prevented the road going through, until your committee had time to act.

We believe the matter is now settled and will not probably come up again, at least for the present.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

ELWYN SEELYE,
JAMES A. HOLDEN,
GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE,
Committee.

Upon motion it was resolved that the secretary cast one ballot for the election of the following as new members of the Association:

Ackerly, Orville B.	210 Warburton Ave., Yonkers.
Brown, Edwin J.	37 Main St., Oneida, N. Y.
Bristol, Prof. Geo. P.	5 Grove Place, Ithaca.
Clearwater, Hon. Alphonse T.	Kingston.
Culver, Dr. Charles M.	36 Eagle St., Albany.
DeLano, Hon. Clayton H.	Ticonderoga.
Frenk, Henry	132 W. 79th St., New York.
Friederang, Maxmilian F.	30 E. 57th St., New York
Frost, Halsted H., Jr.	141 Broadway, New York.
Frost, George Henry	Plainfield, N. J.
Freund, John C.	760 West End Ave., New York
Ferris, Mortimer Yale	Ticonderoga.
Gallager, James	Cleveland.
Gilpin, C. Monteith	68 William St., New York.
Griffis, William Elliot	Ithaca.
Gates, Moody B.	23 City Hall Place, New York
Granger, William A.	Mount Vernon.
Hill, Charles S.	Binghamton.
Hoopes, Maurice	Glens Falls.
Heusted, Dr. Albert N.	Albany.
Lawrence, Rev. Egbert Charles	Schenectady
Lincoln, Rev. Julius	Jamestown.
Mason, Herbert D.	27 William St., New York.
Munson, Samuel L.	Albany.
Nelson, William	Patterson, N. J.
Oneonta State Normal School	Oneonta.
Peckham, Stephen F.	150 Hall St., Brooklyn.
Proctor, Thomas Redfield	Utica.
Schmid, H. Ernest	White Plains.
Wadhams, Commodore Alvin V.	Wadhams.
Wardell, J. Harold	Hudson.
Witherbee, Hon. Walter C.	Port Henry.
Yonkers Hist. Library Assn.	Yonkers.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Fulton, Lewis M.	31 Nassau St., New York City.
Hand, Hon. Richard L.	Elizabethtown.
Hanna, Charles Augustus	Custom House, New York City.
Stillman, Chas. Chauncey	9 E. 67th St., New York City.

Upon motion it was resolved that Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, 121 Mark Ave., Syracuse, be elected an honorary member of the Association.

Upon motion it was resolved that James A. Holden be librarian of the Association.

Upon motion it was resolved that Chairman Dr. Williams O. Stillman be authorized to write Mr. Morris Patterson Ferris expressing the sympathy of the trustees for his long continued illness.

Upon motion it was resolved that the actual necessary expenses of the secretary and treasurer in attendance upon the meetings of the Association and of the trustees of the Association be paid by the society.

Upon motion it was resolved that our next annual meeting be held somewhere in the Champlain Valley, October 4, 5 and 6.

Upon motion it was resolved that the place of meeting be such place or places in the Champlain Valley as the Program Committee shall decide.

Judge Ingalsbee and Dr. Sherman Williams as the Program Committee with power to add to their number, announced that they had appointed Dr. W. A. E. Cummings as the third member of the Program Committee for the next meeting.

Upon motion it was resolved that the matter of chartering the Steamer Vermont for the October meeting be left to the Program Committee with power and that the Program Committee be authorized to appoint such sub-committees as may be necessary.

Upon motion it was resolved that the matter of the settlement of the claim of the Newburg Journal be referred to a committee composed of Messers. Holden, Richards and Williams with power to act.

Upon motion it was resolved that a committee of three be

appointed by the Chairman to report at our next meeting upon the following points:

1. To what extent are we committed to the publishing of the Wiltwyck records?

2. The value of the translation.

3. The probable cost of such publication.

The Chair announced that this committe be Messrs. Ingalsbe, Holden and Roberts.

Upon motion it was resolved that the pages of the Wiltwyck records now in print be held out until the report of the committee.

Upon motion it was resolved that Mr. William Wait be requested to get a catalogue of the Gibson library and to ascertain what this library could be bought for, such information to be obtained without expense to the Association.

Upon motion it was resolved that we adjourn.

F. B. RICHARDS,

Secretary.

A STORY OF THE "LAKE CHAMPLAIN MEETING."

The twelfth annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association was held October 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th, 1910, on the Steamer Vermont, Lake Champlain. To Dr. Cummings of Ticonderoga is due the suggestion and much of the arduous preparation which made this meeting at once the most unique and delightful ever held by the Association.

When preparations for the annual meeting were being discussed, Dr. Cummings suggested that it take the form of a houseboat party on Lake Champlain, visiting the scenes of historic interest on the Lake, and developing that fraternal feeling among the Association members to which such a trip would lend itself. The other members of the Committee later confessed that they discouraged the suggestion, but when Dr. Cummings not only showed them how it could be done, but secured financial guarantees from his friends to cover expenses, they entered as enthusiastically as he into the manifold preparations which made the meeting so successful in every detail.

The Association members assembled on the morning of Tuesday, October 4th, on the Steamer Vermont at Fort Ticonderoga Pier. After registering and securing their badges and programs, the members embarked on the barge "Pulpitania" for the short trip across the bay to the ruins and battlefield of Fort Ticonderoga. Through the courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Stephen H. P. Pell of New York, who own the land on which the fort stands, and by whom the ruins are now being restored, the Association was given the freedom of the place. Mr. and Mrs. Pell received the party and conducted the members about the fort, battlefield and the fortifications, assisted by a committee of the Ticonderoga Historical Society, including F. B. Richards, Pell Arthur, W. W. Jeffers, E. B. Woodruff, Mrs. John Hyde, Miss Bertha Mead and Miss Julia Wicker. The restored West Barracks, in which Ethan Allen made his famous demand for the surrender of the place, was most interesting, with its gray walls, oak beams and red roofs. Silken banners, reproductions of those of the French regiments which served at Ticondero-

ga, were displayed across the front of the barracks, and overhead waved the Lilies of France. Within the barracks Mrs. Pell personally explained the fine collection of autograph letters, rare portraits and documents, and relics from the battlefield.

Following the inspection of the fort, Mrs. Pell welcomed the ladies of the party at the Pavilion, the delightful old Pell mansion on the lake shore, being assisted in receiving by Mrs. James E. Martin and Mrs. H. W. Watrous of New York. Hon. Howland Pell at the same time kept open house for the gentlemen at his unique summer house, the Blockhouse, which is an exact reproduction of the Germain redoubt, and stands on the site of that ancient defense of Fort Ticonderoga.

On their way back to the barge, the party inspected with interest the hull of Arnold's ship Revenge, which was raised from the lake by S. H. P. Pell.

Upon reaching the steamer luncheon was served, after which the Association went by special train to Ticonderoga village, where, in the presence of a large gathering, including many school children and employes in the mills, a bronze tablet presented to the Ticonderoga Historical Society by the Ticonderoga Pulp and Paper Company was unveiled. This tablet marks the location of the French sawmill built in 1756 to cut the timber for Fort Carillon, now Fort Ticonderoga. The Ticonderoga Pulp and Paper Company's plant now stands upon the site of this old mill.

The ceremonies attending the unveiling opened with an invocation by Rev. Loyal A. Bigelow, after which the presentation address was made by Hon. Clayton H. Delano. As he concluded, the tablet was unveiled by Mrs. Sherman Williams and Mrs. Frederick B. Richards of Glens Falls. Dr. W. A. E. Cummings, on behalf of the Ticonderoga Historical Society, formally accepted the gift. During the exercises, Mrs. George Stephenson Bixby of New York, led the large audience in singing "America" and "The Star Spangled Banner."

The tablet before presentation was veiled with an American flag, and above it waved the French and English flags. It is a beautiful bronze panel, 3x5 feet, sunk in a pedestal of Vermont granite. It bears this inscription:

"This tablet marks the landing for the grand
carry on the great war trail between the Indian

tribes of the north and south country. It also marks the beginning of that carry between the lakes, to avoid the falls and rapids, which later became the military road built by the French in 1755.

"The French saw mill, the first ever built in the Champlain Valley, was erected in 1756 at the foot of the falls on the site of the present mills. In this saw mill Abercromby had his headquarters during his disastrous battle with Montcalm's forces at the French lines, July 8, 1758.

"Washington and Franklin passed over this military road during the Revolution.

"Presented to the Ticonderoga Historical Society for the citizens of the Town by the Ticonderoga Pulp & Paper Company.

"Unveiled by the New York State Historical Association, October 4th, 1910."

At the close of the exercises the members of the Association visited the many points of historical interest in the old town, including the Black Watch Memorial Library, where the headstone found in the alleged grave of Lord Howe was inspected with interest and roused much discussion as to its claims; the stately memorial boulder, bearing the names of the great men who have fought at Ticonderoga, which marks the Ticonderoga grave of that much-buried and often-resurrected young hero; and the tablet erected by the Joseph Dixon Crucible Company, giving the history of the military road and of the bridge over the river.

The Association returned by special train to the Vermont at Fort Ticonderoga pier, where dinner was served. Following this came the formal exercises of the evening, which were held in the forward cabin of the saloon deck, and which were attended by many members of the Ticonderoga Historical Society.

Mrs. Joseph Cook of Ticonderoga, in a graceful speech, welcomed the Association, response being made by Sherman Williams, Pd. D., of Glens Falls. The first paper of the evening was read by John M. Clarke, LL. D., director of the New York State Museum, Albany, on "The Setting of Lake Champlain History." Following this, a paper on the "Black Watch at Ticonderoga."

AT FORT TICONDEROGA

Officers Quarters or West Barracks
Two Views from Same Point Showing
Before and After Restoration

The Block House. Summer Residence of Howland Pell
A Reproduction of the Germain Redoubt
The Pavilion. Summer Residence of S. H. P. Pell.
Built in 1826 by William F. Pell, Esq.

was read by Frederick B. Richards of Glens Falls. This was substituted for the paper on "New Historical Light on the Burial Place of Lord Howe," by James A. Holden of Glens Falls, which was necessarily postponed owing to Mr. Holden's sudden and severe illness. Mr. Richards, who spent several weeks in Scotland collecting data for his paper, exhibited samples of Scotch plaids and a water color drawing of an officer of the Black Watch at the period of the Ticonderoga campaign. The third paper of the session, on the subject, "Lord Howe," was read by Frank B. Wickes, of Ticonderoga. A delightful incident in the evening's program was the singing of two primitive North American Indian songs by Mrs. George Stephenson Bixby.

Upon the conclusion of the exercises, the Vermont moved across the Lake to Larrabee's Point, where those members of the Association who could not be accommodated on the boat were housed for the night at the Lake House.

Wednesday morning, October 5th, the steamer called at Larrabee's Point for the Lake House guests and after breakfast, the business meeting of the Association was held.

On the arrival of the north and south bound morning trains, the steamer proceeded to Crown Point, one of the most beautiful spots on Lake Champlain, and the site of the ruins of Fort St. Frederic and Fort Amherst. This property has just been presented to the State of New York by the Witherbee-Sherman Company of Port Henry, to be preserved as a State Battlefield Park. The New York State Historical Association will be its custodian.

Upon the arrival of the steamer the guests were met by Hon. Walter C. Witherbee and Hon. Louis C. LaFontaine of the New York Champlain Tercentenary Commission. Senator Barnes, who had crossed from his summer home at Chimney Point to greet the Association, kindly consented to act as guide, his familiarity with the ruins adding greatly to the interest of the visit to the fortifications.

The party first inspected the ruins of the old French fort, St. Frederic, now only grass-grown earthworks, with here and there a crumbling wall of masonry. The location of the underground rooms, the chapel, and the secret passage to the lake can be roughly traced among the mounds, and on one of the retaining walls a

half-obliterated inscription in French, which has never been wholly translated, awakened an interested discussion among several members of the party.*

From Fort St. Frederic the party went on toward the more extensive ruins of Fort Amherst, entering through the ancient sallyport. The great area of the fort is enclosed in a complete circle of earthworks, which form a verdant setting for the gray ruins of officers' quarters and barracks.

The literary exercises of the afternoon, held in the pavilion near the fortifications, included two papers, "The Iron Ore Industry of the Lake Champlain Valley," by S. Norton, Mineville, N. Y., and "Carriers of the Lake," by Augustine A. Heard, General Passenger Agent of the Delaware & Hudson, Albany, N. Y. The annual address on the subject, "The Worth to a Nation of a Sense of Its Past," was given by Rev. John M. Thomas, D. D., President of Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont.

After leaving Crown Point, the Vermont called at Port Henry to land guests, and then proceeded down the lake to Burlington. The Burlington members of the Vermont Society of Colonial Wars, the Society of Colonial Dames, Sons of the American Revolution, and Green Mountain Chapter, D. A. R., had been invited to attend the literary exercises held on the steamer in the evening. Invitations had also been sent to Col. T. W. Jones and staff, 10th U. S. Cavalry, stationed at Fort Ethan Allen. A large number of guests accepted the invitation and an impromptu reception was held as they arrived. The exercises of the evening included an address by Jos. Armand Bedard, M. D., President Societe Historique Franco-Americaine, of Lynn, Massachusetts, and a paper on "General Observations on the War of 1812," by George K. Hawkins, A. M., D. Sc., of the State Normal School, Plattsburg, New York. A delightful feature of the evening was the singing of "Songs of Many Lands," by Mrs. George Stephenson Bixby of New York. At the close of the exercises the steamer proceeded to Plattsburg, where the members of the association who were assigned to the hotels were landed.

Thursday morning, October 6th, the steamer left early for Port Kent. Many members of the patriotic societies of Plattsburg were guests of the Association for the day. They included Mrs. George

* See letter from Victor H. Paltsits and W. Max Reid in a following article which explains this inscription.

F. Tuttle, regent, and the board of managers of the Saranac Chapter, D. A. R., and Captain and Mrs. Sigerfoos, Lieutenant Endicott, Lieutenant and Mrs. Barnes and others from Plattsburg barracks. At Port Kent the Burlington guests for the day were received. Among them were General Stephen P. Jocelyn, U. S. A., retired, past governor Vermont Society Colonial Wars, and Mrs. Jocelyn; General Theodore S. Peck, deputy governor-general for Vermont of the National Society and Mrs. Peck, Past State Regent of Vermont, D. A. R.; Miss Theodora Peck, past historian Green Mountain Chapter, D. A. R.; Byron N. Clarke, secretary Vermont Society of Colonial Wars; H. S. Howard, treasurer Vermont Society of Colonial Wars, and Mrs. Howard; Hon. William Dewey, president Vermont Society Sons of the American Revolution, and Mrs. Dewey; Hon. Charles E. Allen, registrar, Vermont Society Colonial Wars; Mrs. Arthur S. Isham, regent Green Mountain Chapter, D. A. R.; Miss Jennie Wood, secretary Green Mountain Chapter, D. A. R.; Miss Mary Roberts, past regent Green Mountain Chapter, D. A. R.; Miss Julia Converse, Miss Helen Converse, Mrs. S. G. W. Benjamin, Miss Edith Benjamin, members of Green Mountain Chapter, D. A. R.; Captain William H. Hay, 10th Cavalry, U. S. A., and Mrs. Hay. Mrs. George E. Lamb of Port Henry, regent, Champlain Chapter, D. A. R., also joined the party. General Peck's daughter, who is prominent in D. A. R. circles, is also the authoress of the well-known novels, "Hester of the Grants" and "The Sword of Dundee."

From Port Kent the steamer turned north, for the delightful sail down the lake to Isle La Motte. As it passed Valcour Island, the ladies of Saranac Chapter, D. A. R., of Plattsburg, strewed flowers on the water in memory of those who perished in Arnold's naval victory near that island, and as a tribute to the early patriotism of the man who afterward attempted to betray his country. The ceremony was suggested by Mrs. Harry W. Watrous of New York.

After a sail of two hours the great cross on the beach near the landing of Isle La Motte gleamed white against the trees, and the party disembarked on the historic ground where Jesuit missionaries held the first Christian service on Lake Champlain. Several residents of the Island met the party, and a visit was made to the lit-

tle Chapel of Ste. Anne and to the clearing by the lake which was once the little Fort Ste. Anne, a rude barricade of loose stones thrown up about a square inclosure. The stones of the fort are now gathered into twelve piles, around the square which formed the boundary of the fort, and these, each surmounted by a cross, constitute the Stations of the Cross for the chapel.

At luncheon on the steamer, after leaving Isle La Motte, General Theodore S. Peck of Burlington expressed the thanks of the Vermont guests for the delightful day afforded them, to which Rev. Joseph E. King, D. D., of Fort Edward, N. Y., responded.

The literary exercises of the afternoon were held while the steamer was returning to Port Kent. They included three papers, "The First Missionaries Who Crossed Lake Champlain," by Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S. J., Editor of "America," New York City; "The War Path," by Edward T. W. Gillespie, vice-president of the Stamford Historical Society, Stamford, Conn., and extracts read by Sherman Williams from the paper, "New Historical Light on the Real Burial Place of Lord Howe," written by James A. Holden, of Glens Falls, whose continued illness made it impossible for him to give it in person.

The Burlington guests were set ashore at Port Kent, and the steamer proceeded to Plattsburg. Upon its arrival there the members of the Association were taken by trolley about the city and thence out to the Plattsburg Barracks, where a dress parade was given by the 5th U. S. Infantry in honor of the guests. Gen. C. L. Davis (retired), formerly Colonel in command of the Plattsburg post, and Gen. E. S. Dudley and Lieut. Colonel Corbusier (both retired), who were all members of the Association party, renewed former acquaintanceships on their visit to the post.

The dinner on the Vermont that evening was somewhat in the nature of a farewell, Dr. Cummings presenting a resolution of thanks in behalf of the committee of arrangements to all who had helped to make the outing a success, and Hon. T. Astley Atkins a resolution of appreciation to Dr. Cummings and his committee of arrangements.

Souvenirs of the trip, in the form of a collection of Lake Champlain post-cards, gifts of the D. & H. Co., and a set of prints, presented by Stephen H. P. Pell, one showing the original plan of

Fort Ticonderoga from an old map, and the other the proposed restoration, were given each guest.

The last formal gathering of the Association was the elaborate reception tendered the party in the evening at the State Normal School, the hostesses being the members of Saranac Chapter, D. A. R., of Plattsburg. The building was decorated with flags and palms.

An interesting loan collection, including an autograph letter of Washington, a signature of Louis XVI, family portraits, old laces and jewelry, was a feature of the evening. It was gathered for the occasion by Mrs. F. P. Lobdell, Mrs. M. P. Myers, Mrs. Merritt Sowles, Miss Woodward, Miss Perry and Miss Ingalls. The refreshments and punch bowls were in charge of Mrs. Barker, Mrs. Vert, Miss Hall, Miss Mary Barber and Miss Stower.

The literary program consisted of a paper on "Historical Societies; Their Work and Worth," by Hon. Victor Hugo Paltsits, State Historian, of Albany, New York, and an address on "The Flag," by Charles William Burrows of Cleveland, O., which was illustrated by stereopticon pictures. Mr. Burrows is President of Burrows Bros. Co., publishers of the "Jesuit Relations" and of the "New History of America," by Avery. At the conclusion of the paper Mrs. Bixby led the audience in singing "The Star Spangled Banner."

The following morning the gathering disbanded and the members of the Association left for their homes, a party stopping en route for a visit to Ausable Chasm.

The expression of all who participated in the three days' meeting of the Association was that of unqualified praise, both for the originality of the plan and for the completeness with which every detail was carried out. The members of the Association were not only enabled to become better acquainted with one another, but were brought in touch with other patriotic societies having the same interests, and the scenic beauties and historic monuments of the trip will long be a pleasant memory.

The following extract from a letter written by Rev. Joseph E. King, D. D., of Fort Edward, to Mr. F. B. Richards, secretary of the Association puts into words the feeling of all who participated in the trip:

"This whole enterprise of the excursion on the waters of historic Lake Champlain seems to have been wisely planned and to have been carried out and consummated with admirable tact, courtesy, and fraternal as well as patriotic feeling. The New York State Historical Association has had a new birth."

PASSENGER LIST—STEAMER VERMONT LAKE CHAMPLAIN MEETING.

Adam, Rev. Canon F. S. T.	Montreal, Can.
Arthur, Miss Elizabeth	Ticonderoga
Atkins, Hon. T. Astley	New York City
Adamson, Mrs. W. W.	Glens Falls
Bardeen, C. W.	Syracuse
Bardeen, Miss	Syracuse
Bates, Norman L., and Mrs.	Oswego
Bedard, Dr. and Mrs. Jos. Armand	Lynn, Mass.
Bixby, Mr. and Mrs. Geo. Stephenson	New York
Blackburn, John T. D., and Mrs.	Albany
Boardman, Dr. Waldo E.	Boston, Mass.
Brown, Edwin J., and Mrs.	Oneida
Bullard, Frederick H., and Mrs.	Glens Falls
Burrows, Chas. Wm., and Mrs.	Cleveland, Ohio.
Burrows, Miss Gladys E.	Cleveland, Ohio.
Cady, Hiram W., and Mrs.	Plattsburgh
Cameron, Edward M., and Mrs.	Albany
Campbell, Rev. F. J.	New York
Carpenter, Mrs. Emma	Oneida
Carville, Miss Katherine J. C.	New Rochelle
Clarke, Dr. John M.	Albany
Close, Dr. Stuart	Brooklyn
Close, Miss Elizabeth	Brooklyn
Clute, J. H., and Mrs.	New York
Coburn, Miss Louise H.	Showhegan, Me.
Cole, Mrs. Frances M.	Oneida
Cook, Mrs. Joseph	Ticonderoga
Cook, Dr. Joseph T.	Buffalo
Corbusier, Lt. Col. Wm. H., & Mrs.	Plainfield, N. J.
Cummings, Dr. W. A. E., and Mrs.	Ticonderoga
Cummings, Miss Hannah	Ticonderoga
Davis, Gen. Charles L.	Schenectady
Denham, Edward	New Bedford, Mass.
Dudley, Gen. Edgar S.	Johnstown
Eagle, Maj. Clarence H.	New York
Everett, Maj. James H., and Mrs.	Kingston
Faulkner, Frank J., and Mrs.	Lynn, Mass.
Fay, Miss Amy	New York
Fenton, George, and Mrs.	Utica
Finegan, Thomas E., and Mrs.	Albany
Frost, George H.	Plainfield, N. J.

Gilbert, Charles N.	Albany
Gillespie, Edward T. W.	Stamford, Conn.
Giles, Mrs.	Kingston
Griffing, W. Irving and Mrs.	Glens Falls
Haldane, Miss Mary H.	Cold Spring
Hawkins, Dr. George K.	Plattsburgh
Holden, James A., and Mrs.	Glens Falls
Heard, Augustine A.	Albany
Ingalsbe, Hon. Grenville M., & Mrs.	Hudson Falls
Kellogg, Mrs. C. D.	Hudson Falls
King, Rev. Joseph E., and Mrs.	Fort Edward
King, Harold Lee	Middlebury, Vt.
LaFontaine, Louis E., and Mrs.	Champlain
Lamb., Mrs. Nettie W.	Port Henry
Leeds, Amy I.	Cobleskill
Leonard, Edgar C.	Albany
McClumpha, Charles F.	Amsterdam
Moore, Rear Admiral John W.	Bolton-on-Lake George
Munson, S. L.	Albany
Near, Hon. Irvin W.	Hornell
Newhall, Guy	Lynn, Mass.
Paltsits, Hon. Victor H.	Albany
Parry, John E., and Mrs.	Glens Falls
Phelps, Dr. A. H.	Glens Falls
Reid, W. Max	Amsterdam
Richards, Frederick B., and Mrs.	Glens Falls
Richardson, Miss Katherine R.	Lynn, Mass.
Robertson, Mrs. D. L.	Glens Falls
Robertson, Miss Jessie	Glens Falls
Rowe, Mrs. Franklin A.	Glens Falls
See, A. B.	Brooklyn
Sellingham, Mrs. C. H.	Glens Falls
Sellingham, Mrs. E. J. H.	Glens Falls
Severance, Frank H.	Buffalo
Sewell, Rev. Charles	Albany
Shattuck, L. E., and Mrs.	New York
Shepard, Miss Julia A.	Oneida
Steele, Mrs. Esther B.	Elmira
Smith, Mrs. Lewis M.	Elmira
Stanton, Hon. Lucius M.	Albany
Stoddard, S. R.	Glens Falls
Stover, Dr. Charles	Amsterdam
Temple, Truman R.	Glens Falls
Thomas, Rev. John M.	Middlebury, Vt.
Van Every, Martin	Buffalo
Walters, Mrs. J. W.	Glens Falls
Watrous, Mrs. H. W.	New York
Warren, William Y.	Buffalo
West, A. F., and Mrs.	Lake George
West, Howard M., and Mrs.	Glens Falls
Weston, Miss Gertrude S.	Skowhegan, Me.
Wickes, Frank B., and Mrs.	Ticonderoga
Wilder, Frank J., and Mrs.	Saratoga Springs
Williams, David and Mrs.	Rogers Rock
Williams, Sherman, and Mrs.	Glens Falls

Witherbee, Hon. W. C.	Port Henry
Wooley, J. S.	Ballston Spa
Zorn, Mrs. J. T.	Yonkers
Orchestra	
Eddy, Prof. Sanford S.	Glens Falls
Tidmarsh, Arthur S.	Hudson Falls
Tidmarsh, Elmer A.	Hudson Falls

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.
MEETING NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN, OCTOBER 4, 5, 6, 1910.

RECEIPTS

Sale of Tickets	$1,677.75
Sale of Meal Tickets	8.00
	$1,685.75

DISBURSEMENTS

D. & H. for use of Steamer Vermont and Meals	$1,290.50	
Hotel Lake House	35.75	
Hotel Fouquet	29.25	
Hotel Witherill	25.50	
Sandwiches (Lunch, Oct. 4)	4.50	
Orchestra	36.98	
Livery—A. J. Wilson	6.25	
Flowers—H. L. Crandall	10.75	
Piano—Bailey's Music Rooms	5.50	
Moving Piano—M. Collins & Co	8.00	
Expense of Promotion—Dr. W. A. E. Cummings	34.98	
Incidental Expenses Paid on Boat by Dr. Cummings	55.07	
Printing Bill—Bullard Press	78.95	
Stenographer—Work of Secretary, Flora E. Bent	20.40	
Stenographer—Work of Treasurer, Annabel Beaudoin	20.00	
Refund of First Payment—Non-attendance, H. F. Kingsley	7.50	
Refund of First Payment—Non-attendance, C. J. Woodbury	7.50	
Refund—(Overpayment)	1.50	$1,678.88
Receipts Over and Above Disbursements		$ 6.87

JAMES A. HOLDEN,
Treasurer.

LAKE GEORGE BATTLE GROUND PARK

Glens Falls, N. Y., Oct., 1, 1910.

To The Officers and Members of the New York State Historical Association:

Your committee on the Lake George Battle Ground Park desires to submit the following report for the year just closing.

It will be remembered that last year a bill was introduced in the legislature by your treasurer which passed both houses, but was vetoed by Governor Hughes on the ground of necessary economy. This bill provided for the erection of a suitable fence around the Colonial Wars Statue, located in the park, the construction of foot paths to the lake, the cleaning up of the paths and roads, and the erection of boundary fences where necessary. The bill carried with it an appropriation of $1500.00. With the approval of the Association and your committee, your Treasurer had the same bill introduced in the legislature of 1910. Through the good offices of the Hon. James A. Emerson, senator from the thirty-third district, and the Hon. Daniel P. DeLong, Assemblyman from Waren County, the bill was progressed through both houses, and was finally signed by the Governor on June 18th. Thanks are due the Hon. H. W. Hill, Chairman of the Committee on Finance in the Senate, and the Hon. E. A. Merritt, Jr., Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the Assembly for their good work in behalf of this bill. To Messrs. Ferris, Stillman and Paltsits of the Committee on legislation of this Association great credit is due for the final signing of the bill. In fact it was undoubtedly due to the presentation of the matter through a very able brief by our State Historian, that the Governor was finally induced to approve the bill. Quite a few of the Legislators in both houses are members of this association, and to them as well as to E. J. Worden and other prominent citizens of Lake George, to George Foster Peabody and to anyone who in any way assisted in the passage of the bill, go out the hearty thanks of the committee, and, we feel assured, of the Association as well.

Having secured the appropriation, your committee at once began the work of looking up a suitable fence for the statue, and

of preparation to carry out the provisions of this act. One of the first difficulties which was encountered was that the park had never been properly surveyed, plotted or mapped. Applications were made to the State Engineer's Office, and by and with the consent and advice of the Comptroller, the work of surveying the state property was begun. This was found to be a very difficult task, as the property in that vicinity is all bounded by other people's lines, making the matter of boundaries very indefinite. It was discovered that the State Engineer's office had no funds of its own with which to work, and that it was the custom for each State Department which employed the State Engineer's office to pay that Department for its work. With the approval of the Comptroller it was decided to establish a base line on the south, and to run east and west lines as far as the D. & H. R. R. on the north. In order to establish the southern base line it was necessary to take it from a stone monument on French Mountain to an established point on Lots 2 and 3 of the old Webster Survey of 1810. From this the eastern line was determined which was the most important on account of the claims of the Town of Caldwell and other people to land abutting on the highway or Fort George road leading to the lake. It was decided to fence in these two lines, but up to the present time nothing has been done as other matters have arisen which made it seem best to defer action for the present. The expense of the survey so far is $384.35. It should be continued and finished so as to give an accurate survey and map of all four sides of the property. So far as we have gone the work has been well done, permanent monuments set and final lines established.

The Society of Colonial Wars hearing that we proposed to construct a suitable fence around their statue, took up the matter requesting that they might be allowed to contribute a sum of money in addition to that expended by the state, which would erect a fence in keeping with the beauty and purpose of the monument. Their request was gladly acceded to by the committee, and it is the intention of your committe as soon as the matter is in concrete shape to meet with the officers of that society and decide upon the fence.

The question of cleaning up the park by trimming out brush, undergrowth, etc., having come up, it was found that there might

be a technical objection to this on the part of the State Forest, Fish and Game Commission, so the matter was submitted to the Comptroller and the State Forest, Fish and Game Commissioner. Both these officers have expressed their willingness and desire to help the Association out in any way they can. The matter has been submitted by both departments to the Attorney General of the State, whose decision has not yet been rendered.

Owing to the necessity of proceeding along legal lines not as much progress has been made by your committee as had been hoped at the time the appropriation was secured. It is expected however, before the next annual meeting, that the improvements will all be made, and the park become, what it properly should be, a desirable visiting place for those who love and reverence the history of their own commonwealth.

During the past winter it was found necessary to cut down a large decayed tree which threatened to break down, had it fallen, some of the buildings on the place.

At the suggestion of your committee, Thomas J. Smith, Sheriff of Warren County, has appointed William Cheney, the resident caretaker of the park, as a special deputy sheriff, to keep and protect the peace in and around the park.

A copy of the Association Bill accompanies this report.

Respectfully submitted,
JAMES A. HOLDEN,
GRENVILLE M. INGALSBE,
ELWYN SEELYE,
Com. on Lake George Park.

LAWS OF NEW YORK.

Chap. 521.

AN ACT to provide for the erection of a suitable iron fence around the monument erected by the Society of Colonial Wars on the Lake George battle ground park, owned by the State of New York; for the construction of a suitable footpath from the Lake George beach to the said monument; for the cleaning up of the paths and roads around the said park, and erection of boundary fences wherever necessary.

Became a law June 18, 1910, with the approval of the Governor. Passed, three-fifths being present.

The People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

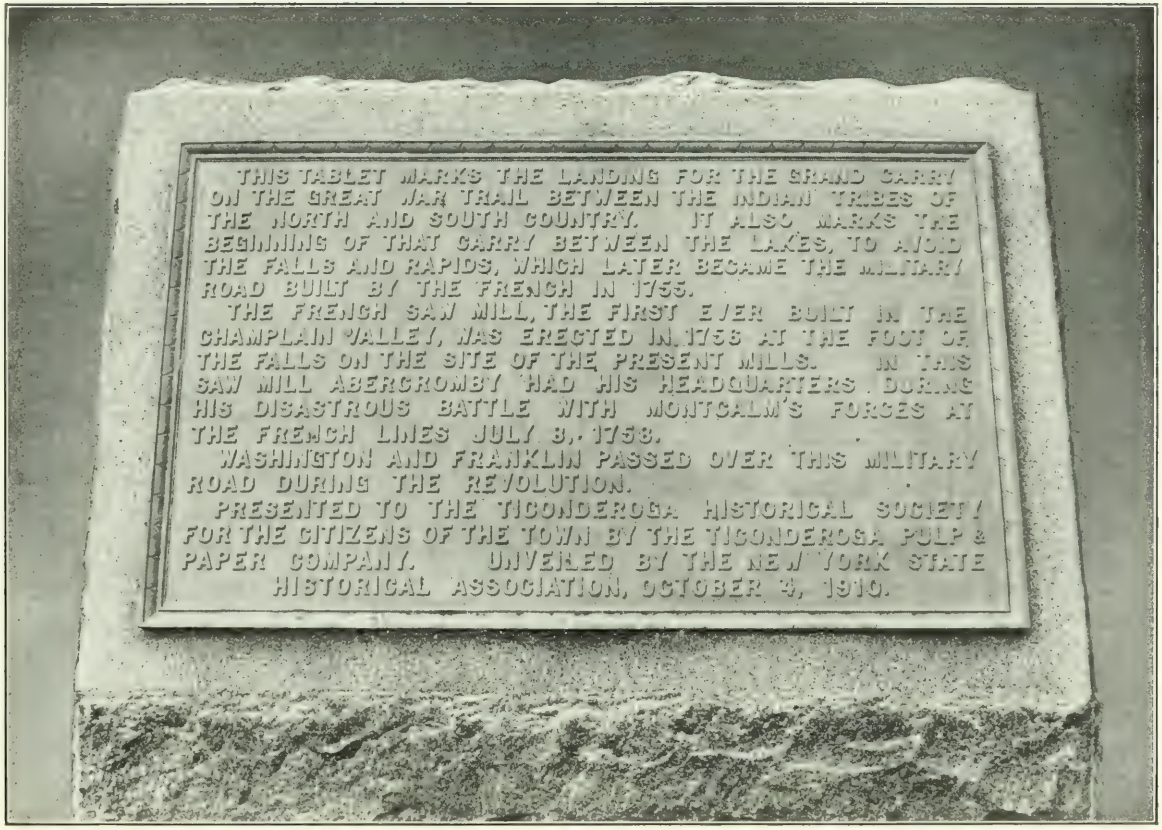
Section 1. The New York State Historical Association is hereby authorized to erect a suitable iron fence around the monument erected by the Society of Colonial Wars on the Lake George battle ground park, owned by the State of New York, and to construct a suitable footpath from the Lake George beach to the said monument, and to clean up the paths and roads around the said park, and to erect boundary fences wherever necessary at an expense not to exceed the sum of fifteen hundred dollars. And the sum of fifteen hundred dollars ($1500), or as much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the proper carrying out of the provisions of this act, the same to be paid by the treasurer on a warrant of the comptroller on proper vouchers duly certified by the treasurer of said the New York State Historical Association.

Sec. 2. This act shall take effect immediately.

STATE OF NEW YORK,
Office of the Secretary of State. } ss.:

I have compared the preceding with the original law on file in this office, and do certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of said original law.

SAMUEL S. KOENIG,
Secretary of State.


THIS TABLET MARKS THE LANDING FOR THE GRAND CARRY ON THE GREAT WAR TRAIL BETWEEN THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH COUNTRY. IT ALSO MARKS THE BEGINNING OF THAT CARRY BETWEEN THE LAKES, TO AVOID THE FALLS AND RAPIDS, WHICH LATER BECAME THE MILITARY ROAD BUILT BY THE FRENCH IN 1755.
THE FRENCH SAW MILL, THE FIRST EVER BUILT IN THE CHAMPLAIN VALLEY, WAS ERECTED IN 1755 AT THE FOOT OF THE FALLS ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT MILLS. IN THIS SAW MILL ABERCROMBY HAD HIS HEADQUARTERS DURING HIS DISASTROUS BATTLE WITH MONTCALM'S FORCES AT THE FRENCH LINES JULY 8, 1758.
WASHINGTON AND FRANKLIN PASSED OVER THIS MILITARY ROAD DURING THE REVOLUTION.
PRESENTED TO THE TICONDEROGA HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE CITIZENS OF THE TOWN BY THE TICONDEROGA PULP & PAPER COMPANY. UNVEILED BY THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, OCTOBER 4, 1910.

TABLET UNVEILED OCT. 4, 1910, AT TICONDEROGA

UNVEILING OF TICONDEROGA TABLET.

By Hon. Clayton H. Delano, Ticonderoga, N. Y.

Mr. President, Members of the Historical Society, Citizens of Ticonderoga:

It is a common saying that "history repeats itself," that is, given similar conditions, issues, antagonizing forces and environment, similar results will undoubtedly follow; but if so, shall we again find all the conditions and forces that made memorable this spot, antedating by many years the American Revolution, and culminating with that historic event? Where else on this or any other continent have two nations of red men and three nations of white men contended for supremacy on the same ground, and consecrated with their blood the same historic field of battle?

This is to-day, and always was, a beautiful section of our country, as fashioned by the Creative Hand, and should forever be dedicated to the arts of peace; but its topography was such that through this narrow valley, with Mount Defiance upon one hand and the foot hills of the Adirondacks upon the other, must pass the different tribes of the two great Indian families, the Iroquois and the Algonquins, as well as the Rangers of Rogers, Putnam and Stark, and the trained soldiery of Abercromby, Amherst and Montcalm.

The Iroquois—or the five nations, as they are often called in history—embraced the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca tribes; and later the Tuscaroras were added to their number, making six tribes banded together for mutual protection and conquest. They were noted among all the Indian nations as foremost in war, eloquence and native diplomacy; they were haughty, over-bearing and domineering. They were the original New Yorkers, as their home was principally within the limits of that territory which afterwards became the Empire State of the Union. Their pride was as lofty as the mountains of their native land. They called themselves "the men surpassing all others". We are told that although at the stage of their greatest prosperity they

had no more than four thousand warriors, yet such was their warlike spirit that they overran the whole land east of the Mississippi, carrying terror, torture and death to whatever tribe opposed them.

Their principal village was in the Onondaga valley where they had a Council House, and where representatives of the different tribes composing the nation assembled at the call of their chiefs, and decided upon incursions into the enemies' country, or the fate of prisoners taken by stratagem or in battle. Their forays into the land of the Algonquins were so successful that many of the tribes of that nation paid tribute to their conquerors, and their warriors were by them designated as "women", which expressed the supreme contempt of the Indian for whoever would not fight with courage or meet death by the most cruel torture with stoical indifference.

I have recounted thus briefly the history and some of the noted characteristics of the Iroquois, that we may gather some idea of the character of the people who, for how many centuries we know not, dominated this land and passed to and fro through this valley in their incursions into Canada to fight their enemy, the Algonquins, before the advent of the white man gave them a sturdier foe, and changed the wilderness into cultivated fields and the Indian villages into teeming cities and prosperous towns.

Here were their war-path and hunting trail; here at the foot of these falls they launched their rude canoes to traverse the waters of the great lake, long before Champlain had given it a name, and probably long before a white man had discovered any part of the American Continent.

What more natural than that, when the white man did appear, to dispute with the Aborigine his title to the land, he should follow Indian trails in opening military roads through the dense forests? So we find the landing-place of the Indians at the foot of these Falls, and the carry from there to Lake George became the military road traversed by the armies of France, England and the Colonies and over which their bateaux were carried from lake to lake.

More than a century and a half has elapsed since the construction of that road, yet its location at some points can be traced today. Commencing at the foot of these Falls, its Lake George ter-

minal was just at the rocky barrier at the foot of the Lake known to-day as the "Rapids," which at that time did not allow the passage of a boat except at seasons of high water. The boat channels you find there now have been made by the mill owners on the Upper Falls, within the last one hundred years, for the purpose of floating logs to their mills. There was a small fortified camp at this place, located in all probability on the rising ground just this side of where Joseph Joubert now lives. This has been a fertile field for relics of colonial wars for many years; those which Mr. Joubert has found and retains he will very kindly show to interested parties, and they are well worth a visit to his place. Another fortified camp was located on the west shore opposite, and another not far from the place known as Howe's Landing, while a battery above the rapids protected the road and camps.

It was by this road crossing that the forces of Abercromby, after the untimely death of Lord Howe, marched on their way to the investment of Carillon. Preparatory to this, he despatched Lieut. Col. Bradstreet with one regiment of regulars, six companies of royal Americans and a body of Rangers to take possession of the French Camp and saw mill located there, which had been abandoned by Montcalm the day before. This saw mill was located at the foot of these falls, but as the ground below and to the south was much broken by deep ravines and wholly unsuitable for the encampment of an army of several thousand men, we must and do assume that the fortified camp occupied by Montcalm was located on the only level ground available, which was in the bend of the river above the Falls, where is now located the business part of the village of Ticonderoga, just at the left of the tablet we are gathered to unveil to-day, while the saw mill and carry were at the right, and the approach to the bridge over the stream was directly in front of this tablet.

It was here, at this saw mill and in this fortified camp, abandoned by the French for a better position, that Abercromby on the evening of July 7, 1758, concentrated his army of fourteen thousand men. It was here that he awaited with high hopes the advent of the morning of July 8th, when, at early dawn, his forces began their march to attack the French, who awaited them behind their hastily constructed fortifications on the high ground a short

distance north of Fort Chillon,—an encounter that ended in humiliating defeat for Abercromby and his army. That evening they began their retreat by the same route over which they marched in the morning, crossed again the bridge at the head of the Falls, which Bradstreet had rebuilt after its destruction by Montcalm, continued their retreat past the location of this tablet up over the old military road to Lake George, where they embarked on their way to Albany, the starting-point of the expedition.

While historians agree that the French commenced in 1756 a saw mill at the first fall on the outlet of Lake George as you pass up the stream from Lake Champlain about two miles, they do not state with accuracy upon which bank of the stream the mill was located; but in the second volume of a voluminous history of Canada by William Kingsford may be found a map made at an early date, showing this mill to have been at the foot of these falls on the south side of the stream, where are now located these paper mills, not far from where this commemorative tablet has been placed. Then we must consider that the natural site for such a mill would be at the landing for boats where navigation ended and the carry to Lake George began.

The building of Fort Carillon was commenced in 1755, and this mill was for the purpose of sawing lumber for bateaux and material to be used in the construction of the Fort and for housing the troops engaged in its defence, this fort being the last fortified outpost of France on the great highway of traffic and travel between the Canadian and American Colonies. Although France had numerous fortifications on the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and farther in the interior (as she then claimed all the territory west of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio), yet her claim in this direction ended at Ticonderoga, and Forts Carillon and St. Frederick were her principal defences on Lake Champlain.

St. Frederick had been built in 1731, but Carillon was not begun until twenty-four years afterward and completed in 1757. It was constructed entirely of wood, and though occupying about the same ground, should not be confounded with the English fort afterward constructed, of which you see the ruins to-day.

Before the erection of Carillon, the American Rangers under Putnam and Rogers found four fortified camps along the old In-

dian trail in the valley between Lakes George and Champlain for its protection. They were often passing this way on foraging expeditions against the French at Crown Point, with scouting parties to harass the enemy and gain information for the benefit of the colonies and the mother country, as England for much of the time was at war with France and coveted her American possessions. These expeditions often caused great hardship to the Rangers and were not always attended with favorable results.

It is related that, as late as midwinter of 1757, Rogers and his Rangers in one of these expeditions captured two French soldiers and butchered some fifteen head of cattle close to Fort Carillon, and tied to the horns of one of them a note addressed to the officer in charge of the Fort in these terms:—"I am obliged to you Sir for the rest you have allowed me to take, and the fresh meat you have sent me. I shall take good care of my prisoners. My compliments to the Marquis of Montcalm.—Rogers."

It is worthy to note here that there was a trail back of Rogers Rock Mountain commencing at Cook's Bay and running down through Trout Brook or Lord Howe Valley, terminating at the Falls here. Over this trail Rogers and his Rangers often passed, and once, after having suffered defeat with serious loss at the hands of the French and their Indian allies, the remnant of his band escaped by this trail to Lake George and safety. Whatever may have been Roger's faults, cowardice was not one of them; and what more fitting monument could he have than the massive rock that bears his name, near the foot of the lake that often carried him and his Rangers on its peaceful bosom?

The battle of Yorktown, the defeat and the surrender of Cornwallis, had practically closed the war of the Revolution in 1781. Peace negotiations were dragging slowly along, when General Washington urged upon Congress the disbandment of the army, and his own retirement to a coveted private life, after eight years of incessant effort and anxiety as Commander-in-Chief of the armies of the new-born Republic.

The British army, humiliated by defeat, was preparing to embark at New York and abandon all further effort to subjugate Great Britian's rebellious colonies. Pending this event, which did not take place until November 25, 1783, Washington decided to

inspect the fortifications along the northern frontiers of the country, none of which he had ever visited; so, on the 16th day of July, 1783, he wrote to the President of Congress as follows: "I have resolved to wear away a little time in performing a tour to the northward as far as Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and perhaps as far up the Mohawk as Fort Schuyler. I shall leave this place on Friday next, and shall probably be gone about two weeks." He also wrote on the fifteenth to Philip Schuyler:

"I have entertained a great desire to see the northern part of this State before I returned to the Southward. The present irksome interval, while we are waiting for the definite treaty, affords an opportunity of gratifying this inclination. I have therefore concerted with Gov. Clinton to make a tour to reconnoitre those places where the most remarkable posts were established and the ground which became famous as the theatre of action in 1777. Mr. Damler, assistant Quartermaster, General, precedes us to make arrangements, and particularly to have some light boats provided and transported to Lake George, that we may not be delayed on our arrival there."

To carry out his intentions, he left his headquarters at Newburg, New York, on the morning of July 18, and sailing up the Hudson, in company with Gov. Clinton, passed Albany and the old village of Saratoga to Fort Edward where Fort Lyman was located, and where water navigation on the Hudson terminated and the carry to Lake George began. Prior to 1755 there was only an Indian trail to this beautiful Lake, but in the month of August of that year General, afterwards Sir William Johnson, with a body of regulars, Colonial troops and Indians, wishing to reach the Lake with his wagon train in an expedition against the French, sent a gang of axemen to cut a road through the wilderness, over which his wagons and army, on the 26th of the month, commenced a laborious passage; and so rough was the road that only at the end of two days did he succeed in reaching the lake, fourteen miles distant from Fort Edward.

It was twenty-eight years after this event that Washington journeyed over this same road. As it had been in almost constant use for that period by the armies of Great Britian, the Colonies and their Indian allies, it was probably in much better condition than

when Johnson hewed his way here through the forests. Having reached the Lake, Washington and his companions embarked on its waters for Ticonderoga, and about the 20th of July, 1783, one hundred and twenty-seven years ago, he reached this even then historic place.

Washington's own account of this trip is very meagre indeed, but as his journey to Crown Point was undoubtedly by water, after passing over the old military road between the two lakes, he must have embarked at the foot of the Falls, near where we now stand, and having inspected the fortifications around which so many important events then clustered, proceeded on his way to inspect Fort Amherst, at Crown Point, the end of his journey in this direction.

I find nothing definite as to his return trip until he reached Saratoga, when he decided to visit the Springs in that town, at that time only two in number, known as High Rock and Flat Rock Springs, and located where the village of Saratoga Springs now stands. So pleased were he and Gov. Clinton with the water, and so impressed with its value, that they decided to jointly purchase the High Rock Spring and the land surrounding it. It was left for Gov. Clinton to secure the property, but on investigation it was found that some members of the then prominent Livingston family had already purchased it, so Washington did not become an owner of this coveted spring, or a land owner in the State of New York.

He continued his journey, passing up the Mohawk by boat and carry as far as Fort Schuyler. At this time there was a good wagon road from Albany to Schenectady, but from that point on the journey was by bateaux, or flat bottom boats managed by two men, called bateaux men. While they used oars to propel the boat in deep water, in many places it was so shallow that they were obliged to use setting poles, and past the carrying-places the boats were hauled by settlers' teams on sledges. Washington, having reached Fort Schuyler, returned to Albany, arriving there August 4, and at Newburg the next day in the afternoon, just nineteen days from the time of his departure,—a trip that now could be made leisurely in about four days.

The next day, the 6th of August, he wrote to James McHenry, in reply to a communication received from that gentleman, as follows: "After a tour of seven hundred and fifty miles performed

in nineteen days, I returned to this place yesterday afternoon, where I found your favor of the 31st ultimo, intimating a resolution of Congress for calling me to Princeton, partly, as it would seem, on my own account, and partly for the purpose of giving aid to Congress.'' He proceeded to Princeton where he received the thanks of Congress, through the President of that body, for the conspicuous part he had taken in prosecuting to a successful issue the war of the revolution and founding on the American Continent what has proved to be an enduring Republic.

Let us now consider another important event connected with the early history of this locality.

Benjamin Franklin was born in the city of Boston, of well-to-do parents, January 6th, 1708. Not really satisfied with the work his relatives found for him to do, he started out early in life to seek fame and fortune. This brought him to the city of Philadelphia, which he reached by boat on the Delaware River, a body of water made memorable by the crossing of Washington many years afterward. Franklin himself relates that, on landing in the city he purchased three loaves, or rolls, of bread, and with one under each arm and eating the third as he walked, he passed up one of the principal streets in the city of ''Brotherly Love'' in search of employment. This he readily found, and this city became his home where he attained the fame and secured the fortune of his early ambition, and where death closed his memorable career years afterwards.

To be sure, you may say that since that time many a young man has started out in life with just as many arms as Franklin had, but fewer loaves of bread and less influential friends, and still achieved wealth and distinction. However this may be, at the breaking out of the war between the Colonies and the Mother Country, Franklin bore a conspicuous part in the momentous struggle thus begun.

He was then sixty-eight years of age, a statesman, philosopher and diplomat, a man of great learning, ability and influence in the Colonies; so to no one else could Congress more readily turn to carry on delicate and important negotiations with the adjoining province of Canada, looking to the co-operation of that country in the endeavor to secure freedom from a rule that had become intolerable.

From the very commencement of the struggle of the Colonies for their independence, efforts had frequently been made to induce the Canadians to join in it, and to send delegates to the American Congress. At this time a large part of Canada was occupied by American troops. To further this hope of the assistance of Canada and its final union with the Colonies, Congress appointed Commissioners to proceed to that country with full powers to bring about such a result. The Commissioners appointed were Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll. They left Philadelphia on their mission about March 20, 1776, passing through Ticonderoga, embarking here at the foot of these Falls, April 21, following, but, encountering much broken ice in Lake Champlain, they did not reach Montreal until the end of the month, having been over six weeks on their journey from Philadelphia to that city. Much of the way the roads were almost impassable, and the water navigation slow and dangerous. Notwithstanding its hardships and the great ability of the Commissioners, this mission was a failure. To Franklin, advanced in years and somewhat impaired in health, the journey had proved a very trying one, but he arrived in Philadelphia early in the following June, about three months from the date of his departure. It is to this mission, however, that we owe the presence of Franklin here in 1776, thus early in the war of the Revolution, and can inscribe that fact on this memorial tablet.

I have thus briefly called to your attention some of the events that have made famous the name Ticonderoga. May this tablet, erected on this historic spot, commemorating these events, be an inspiration to the youth of the town, through all future generations, creating in them a greater love for the land made memorable by the heroic deeds of the fathers, and through that example, inspiring in them a loftier patriotism, higher ideals concerning their civic duties and broader conceptions of their own relations to society and government. May it teach them that living for self alone is a low, meagre, unsatisfying life, that the true patriot and loyal citizen rises above and despises the petty thievery and larger graft of the self-seeking individual who lives that he may plunder, not serve the state.

As our children and our children's children read the inscription on this tablet, may they understand its full significance; may

they appreciate how appropriate it is that at this particular point it should be placed, commemorating, as it does, so many stirring events and history-making achievements.

Here were the hunting trail and war-path of the most powerful of Indian tribes. Here passed and repassed the armies of France and Great Britian, as well as the sturdy soldiers and rangers of the Colonies. Here waved in the breeze, both in peace and war, the lilies of France and the cross of St. George, to be supplanted ultimately and forever by the star-gemmed banner of our own Republic.

Here Washington and Franklin embarked on their missions of inspection and diplomacy. Here stood Rogers, Putnam and Stark, Abercromby, Amherst and Montcalm, conspicuous figures and important factors in the struggle that preceded the subjugation of the wilderness and led up to the founding here of a Republic which was to become a refuge for the oppressed of every land and clime.

Stephen A. Douglas once said of his native state, "It is a good state to be born in, provided you emigrate early." While this may or may not have been an exact statement of fact, we do not hesitate to say and feel that it is appropriate to say it here and now,—that Ticonderoga is not only a good town to be born in, but it is a good town to live in. Yet, while we have a pride in our own town, while we cherish the memories of past events that, like a galaxy of stars, cluster around her history and make this hallowed ground, let us not forget the lessons they should teach,—that, while the past may be secure, while its history may be resplendent with historic deeds, the present is in our care, the future is what we may help to make it, and just as we are faithful to our trust, just as we grasp the unrivalled opportunities of our day and generation, shall we be worthy of the age in which we live, as well as worthy of the history this tablet commemorates.

Now, Mr. President, on behalf of the Ticonderoga Pulp & Paper Company, through its officers and directors, I am requested to present to your society and the citizens of Ticonderoga this memorial tablet. This has been to me a pleasant duty, and in committing this memorial to your care, I am sure it is being placed in safe and appreciative hands.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

By Mrs. Joseph Cook, Ticonderoga, N. Y.

Mr. President, Members of the New York State Historical Association, Ladies and Gentlemen:—

We, members of the Ticonderoga Historical Society, bid you welcome to the shores of this beautiful lake older to history than Plymouth Rock.

While our happy lot is cast in this American Interlaken—for the meaning of the musical Indian name Ticonderoga is the same as the Swiss Interlaken, between the Lakes—yet we know that its remarkable history is a national heritage and possession.

Did you ever happen to notice that there is but one Ticonderoga? So Lippincott's Gazetteer tells us. The famous cities of the world, London, Paris, Rome, Athens, Jerusalem, have scores of namesakes of little or no renown, but Ticonderoga has no duplicate. Think how strange this unknown Indian name must have sounded to the startled ears of Duncan Campbell when his murdered cousin bade him "Farewell, till we meet at Ticonderoga." Personally I am proud of this dignified and well authenticated ghost story told in verse by Robert Louis Stevenson, and the Marquis of Lorne, and in prose by Dean Stanley, Miss Gordon-Cumming, Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Francis Parkman, in the appendix to his "Montcalm and Wolfe," and Robert O. Bascom before your own Association in 1901.

It can not be said that the citizens of Ticonderoga have been indifferent to the fact that here was enacted what Carlyle calls World-history, for in 1864, on the hundreth anniversary of the settlement of the town, there was a great popular demonstration with a poem, an oration, and speeches, but, after that celebration, there was a subsidence of the wave of public interest, broken in 1878 by the erection of a tablet to Lord Howe at or near the spot where he fell on that fateful July morning in 1758. Where he was buried is still an open question, but there is no question but that his brave

spirit took its flight at the confluence of Trout Brook with the waters of Lake George. The finding of the stone, which we Ticonderogians believe marked his burial place, by a workman in 1889 caused another wave of historic interest but it was not until 1897 that our Historical Society was formed. W. T. Bryan, the editor of our local paper, the *Sentinel*, was the first president, but it made very little difference who the officers were so long as the society had Frederick B. Richards as its secretary. His energy and enthusiasm and initative were superb. And later, when Secretary Richards had left town, our Historical Society received a tremendous uplift by the appointment of Dr. W. A. E. Cummings as its president. If you want to know the full significance of the expression "Two are a team" harness together Dr. Cummings and Secretary Richards for an historical pull and the thing is sure to go.

The winter before the Tercentenary celebration, the whole town devoted time and talent to the investigation and exploitation of local history. Speeches were made by lawyers, doctors, ministers, merchants, educators, and—women. An historical chart was hung in all school rooms and the children required to memorize a dozen or more descriptive dates from 1609 to 1783, when George Washington, in company with General Clinton, visited the Fort.

Two little neighbors of mine, ten and eleven years of age, reeled off to me one summer day these dates and what they meant with such fluency and apparent comprehension that I was positively thrilled to think of all Ticonderoga school children so well informed as to what made their birthplace famous.

Dean Stanley is quoted by his biographer Prothero as saying that after Niagara, the most interesting spot in America is Fort Ticonderoga. He came to our town on his last visit to America in 1878. He reached the Burleigh House in a November rain and those of us who live in Ticonderoga know that its mud sticketh closer than a brother. However, the Dean was not daunted and fortunately he had as *cicerone* Rev. T. W. Jones, a Welshman, who knew Dean Stanley's eminent position as historian and churchman. The tablet to Lord Howe had been erected the previous summer. This spot they visited and naturally the Dean of Westminster appreciated the motto on the stone: "Massachusetts erect-

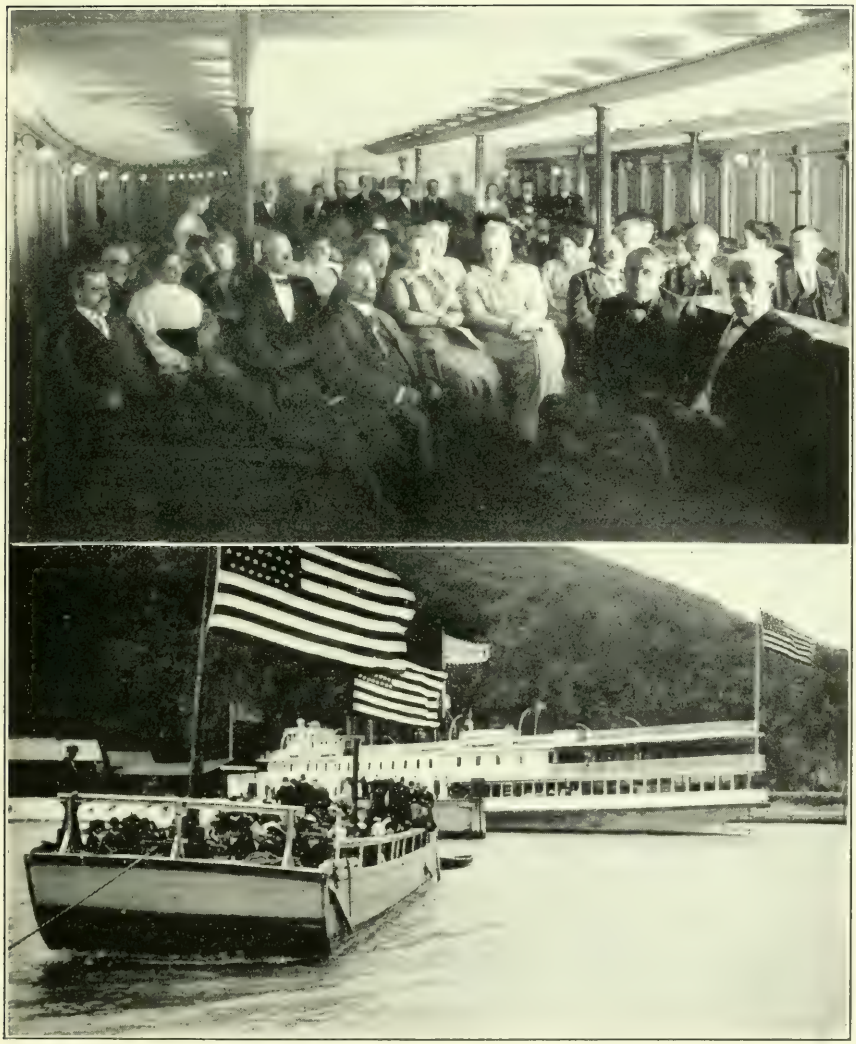


Photo by S. R. Stoddard. Glens Falls

1910 MEETING N. Y. S. HIST. ASSN.

An Evening Meeting on the Steamer Vermont

The "Pulpitania" Carrying Excursionists From Steamer to Old Fort Ti

ed a monument to him in Westminster Abbey. Ticonderoga places here this memorial."

Members of the New York State Historical Association, looking at your first published Report in 1901, a slender volume of 79 pages, and contrasting it with your latest issue of stately proportions, containing 445 pages of valuable material, you are to be congratulated on this remarkable growth in less than a decade and on the fact that you are putting in permanent form for future generations these painstaking researches of historical experts.

RESPONSE FOR NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

By Vice President Sherman Williams, Pd. D.

It affords the members of our Association great pleasure to visit this historic town, the place about which are clustered more events of historic importance, than can be found in any other place in America. The pleasure is doubled when one is received with such a welcome as has been extended to us, a welcome having added force because of the gracious kindness of the one extending it, and a still added interest because of her association with one who did so much to keep alive in the minds of men many historical events that took place here that otherwise would be known only to the historical specialist.

To you, Mrs. Cooke, and to the people whom you have so well represented, in the name of our association, I return sincere thanks for the hearty welcome you have given us.

THE SETTING OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN HISTORY.

By John M. Clarke, LL. D.
Director N. Y. State Museum, Albany, N. Y.

When the traveler is whirled along the rounding shores and through the cliffs of this valley or piloted over the surface of its waters, howsoever he may be impressed with its natural beauties, it is rarely that he seeks to grasp the real source of them. The historian, busied in commemorating the vivid human events which here have left their mark on the records of the nation, seldom stops to ask why these critical juxtapositions have happened in such a place. All the progress of human events in any place is too often assumed to be a chance unguided by nature; it *thus* happened that matters so fell out, and the train of events which led to them, if seen at all, is only in closest perspective.

The truth lies far away from any such conception. Man has never been in reality the arbiter of his own fortunes but his history has been at the mercy of physical forces and events, more ancient, more fundamental and more enduring than his slender maneuverings.

There would have been no such record of events as this lake commemorates, no marching of armies or sailing of fleets through this picturesque spot; there could have been no struggle which was to decide here the perpetuation of our nation, of one human stock, of one language and one form of civil polity over another in a great section of the western hemisphere, if the ages before these issues were born had not made the stage on which the decisive acts were to be played out.

The trains of action that constitute human history are so closely knit to geography that they are little else than one of its natural effects. We are apt to forget this; the narrower our radius, the closer we stick to our latitude and longitude, the less we range the broad earth and expand our horizon, the easier it is to think wrongly, illogically or immorally of human history.

I may say immorally, for the geography of our planet has as infallibly been the guide of human morals as of human history.

Geography however is but a present expression of geological forces and effects. As we are wont to use the term, geography means the existing configuration of the earth; but its exact meaning is of far wider scope, for the earth's geography has been changing from its beginning and it is not today what it was yesterday or will be tomorrow. History is indeed not the bare train of events through which human society has arrived at its present state. Such events by themselves are sterile things, not always inspiring, nor are their records always read aright. Walpole advised his son to read all else but history for that was a barren mass of lies. Back of the events of history is the philosophy which gave them birth, the struggle of ideas rather than of men, the determination of future cultures rather than the achievement of the ambitions of sovereigns, the hopes of settlers or the comfort of the people.

The events of history registered on these commemorated spots, the shifting and conflicting procession of human interests, the tides of antagonistic ideals, which advanced and ebbed again through the Champlain valley, must find their philosophic setting in the very existence of the valley, its configuration, the causes which brought it into being. The predominance in America of the English tongue and the independence of the American republic, so far as these results were determined by the events of this valley, find the ultimate causes of their realization here in those throes of nature which brought this place into existence. Let us then take a backward glance over these preparative events.

In the remote past of the earth where time is reckoned in work done, not years, and the mists hang like a fog bank where the most experienced skipper must navigate by dead reckoning, it is not always easy to find a single cause or one grand effect which may be taken as a starting point for a long chain of changes lasting through a great part of geological history.

The valley of Champlain, its lake and its drainage, is inseparably conected in origin with the majestic and historic St. Lawrence river; as with their human history, both share a common geologic birth and progress.

The intrepid Malouin, Cartier, the first white man to have the credit of wetting keel in the St. Lawrence, after having taken possession of New France in the name of his sovereign, would have found no passage for his vessel, and Champlain none for his little craft on the Lake which now bears his name, had not a series of ancient disturbances in the crust of the earth, alike in their date and nature, combined to produce both these valleys.

The great mass of hard granites and their associated rocks which now make the Adirondack mountains and extend over vast reaches of Canada to Labrador on the east and toward the Yukon on the west, were for the most part laid down as sediments in the quiet waters of the primitive ocean. Soon they became shot through with the molten rocks which lay just beneath the thin but thickening crust and in time all was raised together above the ocean's edge as the majestic mountains of the first continent. So intense were the stresses to which they were subjected that the originally soft sediments of the ocean mixed with the soft lavas oozing into them from beneath, became the resistant solid heart of the great Laurentain mountains whose apex is the Adirondacks and which the geologist calls the "Canadian shield." About the edges of this Canadian shield or primitive continent the ocean waters still laid down their sediments of mud and sand, lapping its margins then as they do today along the coasts of Labrador. As the ages lapsed, these newer sediments heaped themselves to a great thickness and little by little under the slow process of time were pressed out and dried into limestones and sandstones and shales, which still carry in their substance now the remains of the animals whose lives were played out over these successive ocean bottoms. Thus lay the great Canadian shield tough and hard as an iron cap over northeastern America, surrounded and partly overlapped by the softer rocks of the ancient paleozoic ages, when first began the series of tremendous strains and stresses in the earth's crust which turned up the softer rocks into the successive mountain ranges of the Appalachians.

It was a great lateral shove of these soft rocks against the harder, a mighty pressure from the depths of the Atlantic ocean basin shoreward, and the softer rocks were crumpled into mountains waves like sheets of paper. Like an impregnable redoubt

the Canadian shield stood unmoved under the assaults of these rock waves and along the line where the hard and the softer rocks met a profound rift was made through the earth's crust. Today the traveler through the lower St. Lawrence sees at the north the low and rounded granite hills of this tough Canadian shield which have withstood all assaults of time save the eternal wear of water and weather, while on the south shore rise in majestic elevation the broken cliffs of limestone, sandstone and shale pushed to these heights against the granite mountains on the other side. On Lake Champlain the western shore of old crystallines lies high and sheer while the contours of the downsunken eastern shore are low and gentle.

The deep and long break across the rocks which outlined the course of the future St. Lawrence river is sometimes known as "Logan's fault," taking its name from the eminent Canadian geologist who determined its existence. Subsidiary or coeval seems to have been the downbreak which determined the Champlain valley. The St. Lawrence and its confluent valley, the Champlain, are the oldest waterways on the earth. Together they have been, first, one long channel through which has flowed the sea that separated the parts of the growing continent, varying in their function but never changed in their position from the early dawn of geological time.

It would be hardly correct to say that the valley of Lake Champlain was made by the breaking down of the rock strata along a single joint or rift. It seems more likely that the great strains which caused the rocks of the crust to break, here produced a parallel series of northeast and southwest rifts extending to such great depths that the unsupported blocks of rock bounded by these rifts were either pinched out of place or settled deep downward under their own weight. So to make the Champlain valley, such a great block has probably dropped downward, more at the west than on the east, has in fact while sinking been tilted over so that its western side sank deeper and left the walls of the next adjoining block on the west high and steep, as they now stand from Port Henry to Bluff Point. This lake lies in a valley which was a zone of fracture and crushing and, being so,

was the line of least resistance to the moving and eroding waters whether of the sea or land.

Thus the Champlain valley was born, and whatever may be the changes through which it has passed, the down faulted rocks still remain the controlling cause of its existence. It is easy to understand that such a downbreak of the rocks extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Montreal and probably farther west, and thence south along the course of this lake, must have brought into existence a condition of weakness and unstable equilibrium in the rocks which did not exist before the ruptures occurred. We do not know from any records in the rocks themselves, how often or how much since these primal disturbances the displacements of great rock masses may have continued. It is quite likely they have often renewed and even today we may doubt if a final equilibrium has been reached in all their parts. There are records in human history which indicate the continuation of these attempts at readjustment. In 1663, after the French had long been well established from Gaspé up to Hochelaga and beyond, and the religious establishments at Quebec and Tadousac were keeping record of the doings along the river, occurred a great earthquake of which we have somewhat hysterical accounts in the reports sent back to France at the time by the Jesuit fathers and the Mother Intendant of the Convent of the Incarnation at Quebec. But if we subtract all that is necessary from these contemporary stories, imbued with the uncomprehending superstition of the times, there remains evidence that there did occur along this great line of Logan's fault, which marks the course of the St. Lawrence river, a readjustment of the rock strata that set the country to vibrating in a way that has never been equalled in the earthquake annals of North America. The earth along the valley was torn and rent, the forests were overthrown, the great river was turned from its course in places; old streams disappeared and new waters issued from the ground. For seven years this region was shaken by ever lessening disturbances and for forty years after, travelers in the country recorded the evidence of this tremendous convulsion. On Lake Champlain, which lay within the zone of influence of such a disturbance, stands Mt. Trembleau. I do not know that its name records the experience with these earthquakes of some French

settlers on the lake but there is reason to so believe. We can not look back over the two hundred and fifty years that have lapsed and estimate these disturbances as remote. To geology they are but as yesterday and for every yesterday there is a tomorrow.

A second stage in the history of the Champlain valley was during the early paleozoic days when it served as the *Levis Channel*, a sea way connecting the great interior marine waters which then covered the greater part of the middle United States, with the Atlantic ocean outside, by the way of the St. Lawrence river. Then there lay solid land to the east of this passage covering the New England states and reaching farther seaward than it does today. It was a free though narrow channel into which swarmed the sea life of the time whose remains we now find buried in the rocks which lie on the summits of broken strata of an earlier date.

This open sea way through the Champlain valley is most ancient; it dates back to that period which the geologist calls he Early Silurian, when most of the present western continent was submerged beneath the ocean waters; and the close of this age was marked by the elevation of the Champlain valley beyond the reach of the salt waters; and so it follows that when these ocean waters after long ages had at length departed, no more rocks were formed in the valley. Its foundations had been laid and all its rock beds were completed before these waters were excluded. With this elevation the region became a part of the continent and began its long career as a drainage way for the fresh waters of the great new land. Not till still longer ages after this did the salt waters ever reenter this valley.

From the departure of the ocean waters to their return are, to the geologist, the dark ages in the history of the valley. We know very little else of the real doings here during those great stretches of time which we term the later Paleozoic, the Mesozoic and the Tertiary ages when elsewhere on the earth thousands of feet of rock strata were laid down by successive seas, than that the land waters flowed through the valley, sometimes to the north to join the St. Lawrence and sometimes south into the interior or to meet the ancient Hudson river. Whether the water moved to the south or to the north depended on the tilting of the land. But of this important fact we have a definite knowledge; during these ages

its rivers were wearing away the towering summits of the Adirondacks, bringing them by erosion and the transportation of their decay down toward their present level, while the main trunk of the stream itself was engaged in widening out its valley back to the base of the mountains as they stand today.

In these ancient sediments teeming still with the life of the old Levis sea, the valley lies to day as it has since its beginning. The only addition to them are the loose sands and clays which hang upon the hillsides or rest on the more gently sloping shores and these all pertain to the later stages in the history of the lake, to which, after this long blank in its records, we may now turn.

When the waters of the present lake are very low, as they were in the dry summer of 1908, they uncover a series of wave cut shelves in the rocky ledges which are now, under normal conditions of the water, much below the reach of wave action. These are believed to represent the shore lines of a lake, just a little smaller than that of today, which dated back to a time preceding the advance of the ice-sheet—that controlling factor of the glacial period which so profoundly modified the topography of our country. This supposed pre-glacial lake has been named Lake Valcour and the only way we can fix its age is by the absence of any glacial deposits in connection with its varied shore lines.

Then came down the ice of the Great Glacier; little by little it advanced southward from its center of dispersion in Ungava and northern Labrador, first following up the ancient and deeper valleys of the St. Lawrence and Champlain, then, as its volume increased with years of cold and moisture-soaked atmosphere, mantling the whole surface of this land even to the tops of all the mountains now remaining in the region. It was a heavy load that this slowly moving mass of ice piled upon the northern lands and it stayed for more thousands of years than we can now guess; it scored and scoured the old valley of Champlain to a great depth and greater width. When this Glacier began to melt and its southern front to retreat back northward, it left here, as elsewhere, great marginal dams of rock-rubbish which the moving sheet had shoved before it or carried in its substance. The melting waters overflowing in great floods worked over this debris and rearranged it, but without removing it to any great distance south.

In front of the ice foot and behind the dams thus formed the melting water was impounded as fresh water lakes, some of them in other places much larger than all our Great Lakes joined in one. While these ice waters were running off to the south by the old Hudson valley outlet, the eventual damming of that outlet raised the waters into a lake which overspread the present Hudson valley east and west as far as the steep bounding walls would permit. As the ice front in its retreat northward passed the mouth of the Mohawk valley, it let into this lake the great mass of glacial waters that had been held back in western New York; then and for a long time the Great Lakes were drained out by the Mohawk channel into the Hudson valley while the passage by the St. Lawrence still remained blocked by the ice. West of Albany are great banks of sand, the Schenectady plains, laid down by these discharging waters, and on both sides of the valleys are clays and sands which extend northward continuously into the valley of Champlain. These clays and sands are the deposits of the glacial lakes whose outlines we know pretty accurately now, and which is called, in a broad way, Lake Albany.

Lake Albany began its existence before the ice was out of the Champlain valley but as the front of the glacial mantle withdrew northward that valley too was filled with lake waters contemporaneous and coextensive with those of Lake Albany. The deposits from these waters narrow near the present divide between the Champlain and Hudson valleys and those of Champlain widen out over an area greater in diameter than the southern Albany waters ever reached, so we are in the way of conceiving them as distinct though contemporaneous water bodies. These upper waters, the glacial Lake Champlain, is called Lake Vermont and when at its greatest size it extended back into the valleys of the Adirondacks on the west and much further over the lower reaches of Vermont into the drainage ways of the Green Mountains. We know that though it began its existence as Lake Albany was completed, it did not reach its greatest size till long afterward. The ice was still slowly retreating back northward to its own place, the land was going down, so the lake waters rose to relatively great heights on the mountain slopes and until the ice front had reached and passed the valley of the St. Lawrence, so long did

Lake Vermont spread over the Champlain valley leaving its sands and clays where they now cling to the valley slopes. But once the St. Lawrence valley had been passed by the ice front in its northward retreat and the old valley was again opened to drainage, Lake Vermont was tapped and its waters flowed out to the sea by the ancient passage. Thus died Lake Vermont after a life whose length can not be ascertained but which it may be safe to say, was at least as long as the present Lake Champlain has existed.

Now followed a momentous change in water conditions. The earth's surface which had been sinking in these latitudes since the beginning of the break up of the ice, kept on going down until the whole St. Lawrence channel from Ontario to the Gulf was below the level of the sea. This sinking brought down Champlain too below sea level, and thus gradually into this valley the salt waters reascended, rising as far to the south as Port Henry and covering in width almost as great an area as did the fresh waters of Lake Vermont which had preceded them. In a still broader body these waters stretched around the northern Adirondacks on to Lake Ontario and perhaps into some of the Finger Lake valleys of central New York. This was a long time ago but there are still today living in the deeper waters of Lake Ontario small animals whose ancestors came in with these marine waters but adapted themselves to the gradual change from the salt to the present fresh water conditions. This great salt bay extending to Lake Ontario is "Gilbert Gulf" and the arm of this bay which filled the Champlain valley is the "Hochelagan sea." In its deposits of clay and sands lying on the valley slopes are found the remains of sea animals, the bones of whale and seal, and the shells of mollusks which indicate cold water and a subarctic climate. Thus the sea had come into its own again and after the lapse of uncounted ages during which the continents of all the earth had well nigh been brought to their present state, it flowed once more in the old Levis Channel.

There remain now but the final changes in the valley to bring the lake to its present condition. The marine stage of the lake was brought to a close by a slow tilt of the entire Champlain-Hudson valley, depressing it at the south and raising it at the

north. By this movement all the lower Hudson has been deeply drowned and its ancient canyon which once reached a hundred miles beyond New York bay lies buried now under fathoms of water. The counter movement upraised the Champlain valley at the south and gradually turned back the marine waters till they were wholly shut out by the elevation of the valley bottom above sea level. The St. Lawrence river with its heavy drainage from the Great Lakes soon washed out from its channels all remnants of the salt water, but in the Champlain valley, receiving only lesser streams from the mountain sides, this process was a slower one.

Yet in time the waters were cleansed, though their volume was immensely lessened, and the lake gradually took on its present form which, as we have seen, is almost a reproduction of the size it had just before the invasion of the ice. In these later stages the outlet of the lake may have been for a while to the south but its present discharge to the north through the Richelieu river re-established its ancient affiliation with the St. Lawrence. While we speak of this condition of the higher waters of the lake as of quite recent date, yet some measure of its distance from us is suggested by the fact that since the retreat of these high waters the Ausable river has worn out the whole of its wonderful canyon through the rocks by the slow process of erosion, breaking down the sandstone along lines of weakness indicated by the vertical walls bounding the rifts in the strata.

Thus by the slow changes we have indicated was the stage set for the play of the human events which have left their marks in this valley and their influence on the history of mankind. Who will say that the geography of this valley has not dominated its events? The enclosed lake with its barely navigable outlet at the north bounded by forest covered lowlands obstructing the easy movement of armies and fleets, the peninsula of Crown Point at which the waves of battle stormed about the foot of Fort St. Frederic and Fort Amherst, the stronghold of Fort Carillon on cliffs beneath which the waters of Lakes George and Champlain mingle, Valcour Island and its strait which saw the destruction of Arnold's fleet, and Cumberland Head which protected MacDonough and safeguarded the repulse of Prevost at Plattsburg—all these and other

physical features of the valley which have guided the feet and the fleets of the contending armies of the centuries—these did not exist in any earlier stage of the lake nor could have existed, as they were still in the making. The very structure of the lake, developing slowly through long ages, seems thus necessary to the results achieved. Under some other expression of geological forces and effects, the outcome of events might have been wholly different and the development of human civilization taken another course.

CARRIERS OF THE LAKE.

By Augustine A. Heard, Albany., N. Y.
General Passenger Agent D. & H. Co.

Champlain discovered Lake Champlain in 1609; some of the ninety million inhabitants of the United States have been discovering it ever since, and I am very glad to see that so many of the members of the New York State Historical Association have taken enough interest to start on this voyage of discovery themselves.

For a brief period, which Mr. Favreau, Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Association, well named "La Grande Semaine", during the month of July, 1909, the eyes of the nation were trained hitherward, and the daily press chronicled day by day the speeches made by our distinguished President, by the Ambassadors of Great Britian and France, and by the eminent representatives of our Canadian friends across the border in which "Champlain, The Man and The Lake," were properly extolled. Notwithstanding all this publicity there are yet many who must be educated to the historical and natural attractions of this special body of water.

Great as he was Washington is not yet known to all the present generation, as was evidenced not long since when a New York child inquired "who this man Washington was, of whom she heard so much," and was informed that he was the author of "The Sketch Book."

Lac St. Pierre is not the only northern water where "The Wind she blow like hurricane, Bimeby she blow some more," but in storm or quiet the waters of Lake Champlain are navigable throughout its entire length, and for generations were the highway of the nation. From St. Johns in Canada to Whitehall in New York State, a distance of nearly one hundred fifty miles, the travel between the United States and Canada was transported by this route for many years.

In covering the topic assigned to me, "Carriers of the Lake," we need not antedate that famous July day in 1609 when the first

white man gazed upon these waters. He had to leave behind him his chaloupe, and came in a canoe. For many years thereafter the only carriers on the lake were the birch bark canoes of the red men. It is surprising perhaps that for one hundred forty years, until 1749, there is no record of any other craft having navigated these waters, save only the convenient bateaux of the voyageur. During that period and doubtless long before, fleets of war canoes gathered under the shadow of Mohawk Rock in Burlington Bay. This was the dividing line between the Iroquois and the Algonquins, not Split Rock, as it sometimes claimed. North therefrom the Mohawk went as far as his bravery would carry him, south no Huron could come and live.

In 1749 we first have record of sailing vessels upon this lake, but the white population was scanty, and it was not until many years thereafter that any regular line of carriers in our interpretation of the word, was established.

Fulton's steamer, "The Clermont" made its first trip on the Hudson in 1809. Long before any other steamer was launched on other waters, in this country, the first Vermont was launched on Lake Champlain, a boat of magnificent dimensions of one hundred twenty feet in length, twenty feet in breadth, and capable of accomplishing a maximum speed of four miles per hour.

A comparison with the present Vermont on which we are discovering the lake is interesting.

The first Vermont continued in service until October, 1815, when she sank. During her lifetime she was the only steamer on the lake, although in 1812 the keel of a second one was laid in Vergennes, but seized by Commodore Macdonough, and used by him in the battle of Plattsburg. This hull was called "The Ticonderoga." "Many a name I have heard, he thought, but never a name like that," and it seems strange that from that time until the launching of the present Ticonderoga in 1906, no other boat of any size on this lake was called by a name so intimately associated with this lake.

The battle of Valcour on October 11th, 1776, proved for a time almost the end of American shipping on the lake, as of all the boats engaged Benedict Arnold managed to save only one sloop, one schooner, one gondola (this seems a strange craft for

our northern waters), and one galley. Commodore Macdonough at the battle of Plattsburg signally avenged this defeat.

With the withdrawal of the British arms from this region, peace reigned and the next fifteen years saw the building of numerous steamers, the first Phoenix, the Champlain, the Congress, the second Phoenix, the General Green, the Franklin, the Washington, and the MacDonough, were all constructed. The Franklin was the largest boat, being one hundred sixty-two feet over all with a speed of ten miles per hour.

In 1821 Vermont granted a charter for a steam ferry between Charlotte, Vt., and Essex, N. Y., to Messrs. Charles McNeil and H. H. Ross, and six years later the steamer Washington was put on the line, which has now been abandoned.

In November, 1824, the Lake Champlain Ferry Company, plying between Burlington and Port Kent, was granted a charter, and in 1826 the Champlain Transportation Company was created by act of legislature, and after a few years of competition, disastrous for all interested, acquired the other steamer lines on the lake in 1835.

That this action on their part did not result in the deterioration of the service is evidenced by what Charles Dickens said of his trip from Montreal to New York in 1842, when he spoke of the Burlington, an American boat which he praises highly, but not any more than it deserves, saying, "It is superior to any other in the world." The following year another distinguished Englishman, Sir Charles Lucuzthm, spoke of the discipline on the boats, being equal to that of a ship of war.

One year later the use of wood was superseded by coal, and by that time the boats in commission had increased their speed to fifteen miles per hour. About 1865 there were ten steamers plying on the lake. The total volume of the shipping at that time equaled six hundred vessels of all kinds, and it is curious to note that in addition to the ten steamers there were fifteen schooners, and 575 sloops. Can anything be more dissimilar than a canal boat and a sloop, yet canal boats were so rated and of the 575 sloops 550 were canal boats.

From this time until the early 70's were the years of the greatest prosperity for the Carriers of the Lake. The northern ter-

minal had been changed some years before from St. Johns to Rouses Point, and double daily service in each direction afforded from Rouses Point to Whitehall in connection with the railroad south.

The completion of the New York and Canada Railroad in 1873 was popularly supposed to sound the death knell of the Carriers of the Lake. This, however, proved to be far from being a correct estimate although night service actually was discontinued in 1874. Forty years later the Carriers of the Lake are transporting more than twice as many passengers; to such an extent has the pleasure travel grown in this country.

The principal carriers of the present day are operated by the same company which has been prominent in the lake carriage for eight years. The Champlain Transportation Company is today the oldest incorporated steamboat company in the world. Its motto remains unchanged, and the highest aim of all its officers and agents is the careful care of its passengers, just as much now as in the days when Dickens rated the line at 100 per cent.

Closely allied to my subject the Carriers of the Lake, is the question of accommodations on the shore, and I am glad to announce here that the Hotel Champlain, the superb monument erected in honor of and named after the discoverer in recognition of his services to mankind, and the D. &. H., is being rebuilt as rapidly as possible, of fire proof construction, and where you will all be welcome on your next visit to this region.

If these random notes have been of any interest I can say with Macaulay, "I shall cheerfully bear the reproach of having descended below the dignity of history," even before this august body.

THE WORTH TO A NATION OF A SENSE FOR ITS PAST.

By Rev. John M. Thomas, D. D.
President of Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt.

We are met today to take formal possession in behalf of the people of New York of the sites of Fort Frederick and Fort Amherst, as a State Park, to be preserved forever under the custodianship of the New York Historical Association as a memorial of the brave men of three nations who here contended for love of country. It is the mind of both donors and recipients that these historic monuments should not be allowed to fall into further ruin, but that they should be protected from spoilation and decay and allowed to remain as a memorial of the great days of their building as long as intelligent care may be able to preserve them. If at any future time hammer and trowel shall be laid upon them, it must not be to make them other than they were and have been, but rather to restore the walls exactly as Lord Amherst watched them rise. Innovation and intended improvement must never be suffered here, but the old fort must stay as it echoed to the shots of Seth Warner and his Vermonters on May 11, 1775, as it was when Benedict Arnold, still a patriot, reviewed his troops upon its esplanade, and when Burgoyne quartered here the army destined to go down to defeat at Saratoga. It is our will that this site continue forever a monument of the great days when it served three warring nations, which each in their turn were champions of advancing liberty on the continent of America, and be preserved the centuries through to set forth in utmost fidelity the deeds which wrought its fame.

They were deeds of blood. War is hell, even when waged by noblemen and patriots. Yonder stones harbored regiments fresh from slaughter and rapine. Coarse boots stained with human blood have trod the green grass where we have walked this afternoon. Yonder is Coffin Point, where the bugles of three nations have sounded taps over the mangled bodies of the slain in battle.

Men intent on deeds of blood sketched the outline of the moat which surrounds these ruined barracks. Every stone, every yard of earth-works ruin, is eloquent of shattered limbs, rended bodies, and strong, young heart's blood reddening the far-stretching fields.

Why not raze these terrible memorials of cruelty to the ground? Why not blot from the face of the earth this awful scar of human hate? Why preserve for children yet unborn even a suggestion of the direful days when brothers fought with brothers and thirsted for slaughter as wild beasts hunt for prey?

We live in the dawning of the world's new day of peace. The nations gather in harmonious conclave for the settlement of issues between them, and the parliament of man, the federation of the world, is no longer a poet's dream, but the statesman's task. The glory of world-wide, permanent peace is rising in the east, and eager morning souls are already rejoicing in its gleam. Are we consistent as men of progress, as patriots of a nation forward in the endeavor for the abolition of war, when we resolve upon the perpetuation of one of the most striking and impressive monuments of warfare to be found on the continent of America?

Certainly if the mission of this battlefield park were to teach the youth of coming generations that war is the supreme expression of manly courage, if these ruins were to serve to inflame the minds of the men of the coming days with the lust of conquest and carnage, it would be our patriotic duty, as servants of the higher interests of the nation, despite their picturesqueness, to leave not one stone upon another and suffer not one vestige of them to remain beside the fair waters of our lake. Better allow their material to be wrought into farm houses and barns, as some of the early settlers thought not inappropriate, than to permit them to furnish one atom of impetus towards the renewal at any future time of humanity's awful curse of war.

Yet the sentiment of even the gentlest lover of peace would protest against the removal of a single stone or the filling of a single rifle pit. Not merely to the antiquarian, but to the most unromantic man of affairs, the least imaginative toiler in workshop or mine, these ruins are almost sacred, and the generous, far-sighted act which assures their perpetuation is received with the widest gratitude and approval.

Such a universal instinct can hardly be in error. It is founded, if I mistake not, upon something deeper than admiration for the ancient and picturesque. We feel no scruple against the destruction of many old creations, even though they were beautiful in their time. But these old barracks, not a line for art's sake in them, hopelessly useless now for the purpose for which they were built or for any other practical employment, are monuments of the significant events in the history of this valley. With Ticonderoga, Fort Cassin, Cumberland Head, and Isle la Motte, they testify to the enterprise into which men put their energy when this region was one of the chief theatres of action in America. The past, such as it was, is here eloquent. The deeds of far-reaching moment in the making of this land of liberty here speak to us. These stones were raised, alike at Fort Frederick and Fort Amherst, in the interest of advancing civilization and larger freedom. The rulers across the sea and the men who led the armies here may have been motived by greed of territory and a narrow patriotism, but in the providence which shapes all human events the issue of their striving was the extension of liberty's domain and the winning of a continent for responsible government. The Champlain Valley is a laboratory for the study of history, and of history not as a dry chronicle of all things that ever happened, but as an informing, inspiring record of the progress of mankind. These memorials are suited as few others on American soil to bring to birth and keep in life the sense of the mighty past. Here is no teeming population to efface the monuments of the fathers. Our modest commerce and husbandry leaves the face of the ground little changed from the day when Montcalm and Arnold guided their war fleets up the waters of the lake. From the surface of Champlain one catches the very vista which thrilled the soul of its great discoverer. Yonder is the lion still crouching for his spring. By these waters of beauty the sensitive soul feels the very heart-beat of great France in its day of glory, catches the passion of England as it essayed to add another world to its dominion, and strikes hand with the American pioneer as in buckskin breeches and squirrel cap he swings his rifle through the forest to do battle with the mightiest nation of the world for liberty and home.

It is because of a true instinct of the value to the nation of a sense for its past that we seize upon every mound and stone of these

ancient fortresses and bind ourselves in pious obligation to hand them down to our children's children in the grim severity in which they have been given over to us. We believe the nobler manhood of the days to be, with all the courage and intensity of the soldier, but peace-loving, gentle, and kindly, will be greatly served by the preservation of these fortresses. The American people need all possible incentive to remember the days of old, the years of former generations. We have all too few reminders of the past from which we came, and important elements of the national character will be well served by pious guardianship of surviving monuments of the really significant events of our history.

I mention first the spirit of calmness and patience, which is singularly lacking in American character. Observant strangers note the hurry and confusion with which we attend to all our affairs, and the habit of impatience which characterizes us in our attention to matters of public interest. If we are convinced of the need of a particular reform, we must see it through at least day after tomorrow, if not the very day on which it first took hold of us. If any instrument of government fails to remedy a public evil at the first instance in which its iniquity is brought to its attention, we can not wait until another circumstance shall furnish right occasion for the cure of the wrong, but we attack the institution which we imagine negligent of its duty, while in reality that institution may have saved us from worse peril by its refusal even to thwart evil except by principles of law and justice.

As Americans we have small appreciation of the age of the world and of the infinite patience of the God of righteous progress. Our ancient days are only yesterdays, our distant past but recent moments of the God with whom a thousand years are but as one day. We call things old that on the plains of Babylonia would be incidents of a moment ago. The future likewise is to us but the briefest portion of coming time and we circumscribe our visions by the limits of a few paltry years.

Matthew Arnold steeled his soul in patience by consideration, as he said, of

> "The world which was ere I was born,
> The world which lasts when I am dead."

There have been evils under the sun for a long, long time, and some of them are likely to continue for several generations to

come. We shall not make all things perfect in our day, and it makes for reasonableness of spirit, for cautious wisdom of action, to be reconciled to the necessity of bequeathing a few problems to posterity. Honesty is not a new virtue, nor is thievery a new vice, and neither shall we promote the one nor destroy the other by a whirlwind of vengeance. The nation which has awakened to a feeling for its past will move steadier to its goal, with fewer blunders and less frequent necessity of retracing the way, than a people whose visions are limited by the life-time of a few generations.

Some one has contrasted Europe with America by saying that our people were like an army with all its reserves in action the first moment of the battle. That is not good military tactics, nor is it the part of wisdom in the more difficult arts of peace. Patience is not laziness, nor procrastination; it is the counsel of ambition tempered by wisdom, of resolution which is not satisfied to make a stir, but only in achieving its aim, with strength left for the plentiful tasks remaining. The old world refuses to be reformed in a day, and he whose fervor will not bide its time is likely to be altogether missing when providence offers the opportune moment for success. These old mementoes of carnage and war bid us be of good courage and of a patient spirit. Despite all obstacles, notwithstanding blunders frequent and serious, our nation has gone forward notably in intelligence and morals, in appreciation of the higher things, in the establishment of even justice and larger liberty since Lord Geoffrey Amherst expended millions of British gold for their erection. We have learned much concerning the real value of life and the true grandeur of a nation since then, and the sense of the past awakened by these memorials strengthens our heart and calms our judgment for the further advancement our God shall enable us to accomplish in His time.

History is the search for the significant in the life of the past. It differs widely from what Frederic Harrison called the "intellectual fussiness" of the antiquarian, which values all things old from the cradle in which some great-grandmother rocked her baby to the silver box in which a country gentleman carried snuff. There is always a temptation in local history to hoard up a vast number of trivial facts, and gather a rubbish mass of old common-place. I have no brief for this manner of zeal, for I do not believe it has

the slightest value to others than those who are entertained by it. The sense of the past for which I plead is feeling for deeds of consequence, appreciation of events which had successors, and some measure of knowledge of the course humanity has travelled on its way to its present estate. In so far as the life of man is today enjoyable and satisfying, it is the result of achievements, of victories by the champions of nobler manners over the representatives of worser ones, of triumphs over old-time slaveries, superstitions, and delusions. The historical sense singles out these victories, sets forth the glory of those who attained them, and links them together in one mighty epic of the upward striving of the race.

The curse of life is common-place, the same old round of petty employments, petty thoughts. The glory of life is a sense of movement, consciousness of a mighty process in the rolling suns, thrill from the enginery which thrusts the world forward to a nobler day. The people who are possessed of knowledge of their inheritance to a long struggle upward, who are stirred by the preservation near their homes of monuments of the great deeds by which their liberties have been won and their blessings secured, are delivered from the torpor of common-place. Their minds are quickened by association with the significant and their spirits ennobled by contact with the herioc and the great.

Imagine the mental calibre of one whose only reading is the small items of local news from the village correspondents of a weekly newspaper and contrast with it the stature to which he would arrive who steeped himself in the writings of Parkman and Trevelyan, Motley and Mommsen. Yet the village paper is the faithful transcript of the common life of our hamlets and towns. Petty gossip of that sort, spoken and written, is the pabulum which comes most readily to all our tables. It is a sense of the past we need, with its summons away from the trival round and common task, to impart a realization of the worth of life, the meaning of the world, and to lift us to the manhood to which the victories of the fathers summon us.

Mr. James Bryce, the ambassador from Great Britian whose presence graced our Champlain celebration a year ago, records as the one depressing fact of America the monotonous uniformity of our country, the uniform aspect of nature, especially in the cen-

tral west, the uniformity of our cities and villages, of most of which it can be said that nothing interesting ever happened there, the deadening uniformity of our social and industrial life. Nowhere in the landscape, he says, is there a castle or tower to "kindle the present with a glow of imaginative light."

This day we dedicate unto perpetual preservation a ruined castle of the might of France, whose crumbling stones by the lakeside bring to life once more the ambition of her heroes to master a continent for the cross and the fleur-de-lis, and by a coincidence which, if I mistake not, can not be paralleled in America, on the same site we vow to continuance decayed towers of English glory, erected here at the farthest outpost of her domain in the day when from her little island she sought to rule the world. Over these ruins imaginative light must kindle to the dullest soul. Here the drum-beat sounds again to battle and buried bugles rise from the mould to wake the spirits of the dead. They summon to veneration and reverence before the ambition and the courage of those who brought armies across the sea for the honor of the flag they loved. They call us to bare the head in memory of liberty's slain from the armies of three nations. They rouse us from the lifeless commonplace of our commercial day, and, lightening the long highway of humanity's progress, they bid us live and think, not as creatures of an endless re-iteration of the same old struggles and follies, but as sharers in the mighty movement of things toward the kingdom of righteousness and peace.

This battle field park will notably enrich the life of the people of the Champlain valley. Through the monument to Samuel Champlain, to be erected here by the generous co-operation of two States, which have sacrificed selfish and local interests to grace this spot with its fitting crown, there will be added to the memorials of the nations who fought here a monument to the valor and worth of the discoverer of the lake, the bold navigator, the intrepid and scholarly discoverer, the worthy and virtuous representative of a great religion. We do a deed this day not only for this valley, but for the entire nation. We perpetuate no local tradition; we make secure for the future the preservation of a site unique upon this continent, the most striking and significant relic of the contest by which America won its treasure, its chief contribution thus far to

the advancement of the world, the privilege and the obligation of free government. If that treasure is to be guarded, if that contribution is to be preserved, it will be through the preservation in the heart of the nation of the sense for its past, which, please God, these mounds and stones shall keep alive while men grow reverent before deeds of old-time valor and so long as hearts are kindled in the face of the mighty dead.

WAS THE LAKE CHAMPLAIN REGION ENTIRELY LOST TO THE FRENCH WITH THE DOWNFALL OF FRENCH DOMINION IN AMERICA?

By Joseph Armand Bedard, M. D., Lynn, Mass.
President Societe Historique Franco-Americaine.

So much was written, so much was said last year at the celebration of the third centenary of this majestic Lake, that hardly one episode of historic interest has been omitted. The most authorized voices from both sides of the frontier, have vied with those of old England and those of old France, in praise of the founder of Quebec, the discoverer, and also in praise of the last heroic defender of French dominion in America.

Englishmen, Americans, have usurped with rare gallantry the duties which would naturally devolve on "La Societe historique Franco-Americaine" and its modest president; the task of bringing tonight the great feats, the momentous struggles of their worthy ancestors.

However, such history lends itself to infinite considerations, its portentous teachings, its striking lessons are always vital, and in no other to such degree, the philosophy of history may retrace for us the premises, the causes of these great events to their ultimate consequences.

The developement of this North American continent, the growth of this our country, its stormy beginnings are not to be compared with the usual phases of development in any other country of the old world; out of this chaotic genesis, in less than a century and a half, sprang up the most powerful republic that ever existed, which shelters the most heterogenous aggregation of races that ever came together. And the student of universal history, accustomed to the slow incubation of centuries, amazed at this phenomenon, cannot use the ordinary criterion to guide himself. The stupendous facts stare him in the face, he has to accept them, and not try comparisons, because analogies, when one treats of American history do not exist.

However, as I gazed upon this great body of water, my mind reverted unconsciously to the beginning of known history. I felt that, as the Mediterranean shores were the cradle of the remotest civilization, so these shores may be said to have been the scenes of the homeric efforts to implant on American soil, a modified European civilization.

That it was Christian, as we understand it today, the bloody battles, the massacres would hardly countenance it. But, the ideals of the opponents were so different, their protracted conflicts in the old world had been so bitter, that it is fair to assume, that the lust for conquest, their hereditary animosity, were on both sides, factors impelling them constantly to renewed activity in warfare.

We, as American citizens, of either Anglo-Saxon or Latin origin, pay unstinted tribute to the masterly qualities of Champlain, the geographer, the discoverer, of Montcalm, the last defender of French dominion, of Lord Howe, so brilliant, so promising, and yet so ruthlessly sacrificed, the three really heroic figures who have immortalized these shores, so that the glory of others, eminent as they were, is cast into the shade by the transcedent lustre of these names.

We unite not only in praise of these immortal names, but also in impartial, disinterested efforts to get at the truth, to discern amidst the brilliant achievements of all, the inner motives of their actions.

That they were human beings, endowed in spite of their greatness with the frailties and the weaknesses of human nature, we must always bear in mind, so that our judgment may always be tempered by the quality of mercy, which, as we all know, is a divine attribute.

Scientific history as expounded in the 19th century aided by archæology and philology, has been rather destructive of the romances of the past, of some of the beautiful legends, which have rocked humanity to sleep in past centuries. Note what liberties it has taken with the Roman twins, with the she-wolf, their foster-mother. Still, there must have been a man, a leader from Alba, whose conception of a city, became a concrete fact on the Palatine, and why not call him Romulus?

Thank God, to us poor amateurs, history may still be an art, its study a delightful occupation of the mind, where the synthetic process has full sway, and allows us to reconstruct with an accuracy as true, as if the facts were controlled by the most searching scientific methods. It is true that the history of Lake Champlain is too recent to need all these adjuvants, still, I believe that the results so far obtained by clear narration, have been most gratifying to the descendants of the two great races, which have, in deeds of exploration, in deeds of valor, and also in deeds of blood, left the stirring impress of their protracted struggles on these shores.

And yet, before the white man with all his refinements, with his centuries of culture, shook these hills and these woods, with the thunder of his death dealing arquebuse, the children of nature had awakened their echo with their shrieking war-whoops, and their silent arrows had pierced many a strong heart.

The men of the North had come down stealthily upon those of the South, and carried many a trophy, and many scalpless skulls were left to bleach under the rays of a merciless sun; and these incursions preceded those of the white man perhaps by centuries. The enmity of the Algonquin, of the Huron, against the Iroquois, had been of long duration, and the English and the French found ready allies in these implacable foes.

Who will recount these early conflicts, who will sing their war songs, the melancholy chant of their women, their glorious victories, or their ignominious defeats?

Were not their incentives as human as those of the white, or their methods according to their moral standards, so much more cruel?

The lust for conquest, the thirst for revenge, the inexorable law of nature, eminently destructive of life, that life may always be renewed, seem to have been as instinctive in the white as in the red man. Really, we, in the pride of our vaunted superiority delude ourselves in some very pretty antitheses, and one of them is civilized warfare. I shall not inflict upon my patient hearers to prove my thesis, a recital of the horrors of some modern wars. I take it, that they are still present in every man's mind.

The quarrel arising from the slurs, the chaffing of the southern tribes peacefully engaged in the raising of corn by the northern

hunters, could hardly have been their first one. It does not seem probable that, within a few months, at best a few years, the Mohawks could have developed such cunning, such ferocious instincts, had not generations of ancestors, transmitted to this momentarily pacific offspring, some very pronounced war-like and strategic strains. So that, what is described to us as the beginning of hostilities, of vast historic consequences, was probably a renewal of conflicts after a brief respite.

A century and a half of French supremacy on Lake Champlain ushered in by its discovery, by the great explorer who gave it his name, considering the proximity of England's possessions, of the Indian war trail, and the comparatively remote position from the sources of supply, is after all, a feat, the record of which is hardly equalled in the annals of North American history. And that it was maintained, with the help and constant support of their Northern Indian allies, does not make it less memorable.

The marvelous description of this great body of water, had kindled into Champlain's heart, a desire to reach it; but the red men in return for guiding him, had extracted the promise that he would help them to defeat their Southern foes. And, when Champlain fired his primitive arquebuse, killing two chiefs at once, he probably felt that he was discharging a duty, and honorably keeping his word. However, after the shot that was heard around the world, this particular one is the most fateful in American history. If it did bring consternation to the Mohawks for the moment, it also made of them irreconciliable foes of the French, whom no coaxing, no tempting offers, could ever pacify for any length of time. And, after the English had taught them the use of this wonderful agent of destruction, they used it at times with remarkable skill, against those who had revealed its existence to them.

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Living as we are, in this era of territorial expansion, having practically witnessed the growth of modern empires, with their vast colonial possessions, can we conceive the utter absence of foresight, or the criminal abandon of the French Kings throughout this period? A century and a half! With Richelieu and Louis XIV, succeeding each other, the peerless statesman, preparing for

the most absolute monarch who ever lived, the most brilliant reign in France's history. The immeasurable ambition of the one, and the immeasurable egotism of the other, seem to have blinded them both, not so much to the needs, as to the future of these faraway possessions. Richelieu, with scant solicitude, giving his sanction to private enterprises of colonization, and Colbert, Louis' famous minister, grudgingly dispensing funds otherwise needed to cover the extravagances of his master's royal magnificence.

Then Louis XV, the despotic abuses of all kind, the debauchery of the privileged classes, the constantly rising power of royal mistresses, the reign of frivolity and of epicurean philosophy of life,—what care did they have of this far-off land, once the mythical Indian passage, but now dimly seen through vistas of snow? Never were the brilliant, the light side of French temperment, and its chivalrous, self-sacrificing nature, so profoundly contrasted as at this time, in the Court of France, and in the colony striving to rescue a dominion for the French crown! After us the deluge! exclaimed the courtiers in their mad whirl of pleasures, never dreaming that monarchy was on the brink of an abyss; while in these regions, the motto of the heroic soldiers, upholding the glory of France, always was "For God and the King."

In the mother country, Louis XV, Madame de Pompadour, the sneering genius, "Voltaire," in the colony, Montcalm, Levis, Bourlamaque! !

Must I confess to a weakness for the 18th century in France? If it lacks the classic grandeur of the 17th, it has a dash, a brilliancy, a fascinating light-heartedness, which appeal to me .The great literary reaction then beginning, seemed to have eclipsed all other phases of national life. It seems as though the nation was shaking the shackles of classicism before breaking away from those that held it fast to a decaying form of government.

Still, this very spirit was the cause of the national contempt for these few leagues of snow, across the water, and their consequent and irremediable loss. And whether Vaudreuil was actuated by these sentiments, or simply led by his narrow mindedness and jealousy; it is an accepted fact that as governor of Canada, he constantly impeded the actions, the movements and the plans of Montcalm.

In England, the great commoner, had at last realized his ambition. By masterful strokes, by the outward renunciation of his wonted dislike for his royal master, whose German affinities, he could never abide, by flights of eloquence which Walpole says had never been surpassed in Greece or in Rome, by a constant display of superhuman courage and energy, Pitt had ascended to a premiership which in scope of power and masterful guidance of foreign affairs never was equalled in England, and recalls the days of Richelieu in France.

If a parallel could be established between these geniuses, it could be said that they had one trait in common; the set purposes, the well defined policies that from their very accession to power they carried out with unflinching perseverance; and another point of comparison; that historically they overshadow so completely the masters whom they served that these reigns owe to their great personalities their undisputed glories, and both nations, the greatest periods of their history, which Richelieu prepared in France, but which, Pitt lived long enough to see accomplished in England.

We hear a great deal nowadays of some statesman's or other's policies, they seem to be the subject of general comment; some go so far as to doubt the sincerity of those who utter them, or think that time and politics are great modifiers, and that policies adjust themselves to these exigencies. But not so with these great historic characters, and in the light of their achievements, we may possibly reserve our estimate of the living exponents of these elastic theories of government. We had better wait for the sanction of History, which is, after all, as infallible a criterion as humanity has been able to devise, and let our children pronounce their final judgment!

Pitt's determination to put an end to French dominion in America, formed a part of these well formulated plans and to achieve this end he set out as soon as the power was entrusted to him. He shows his hand immediately in the selection of officers who were to take command in America. They are chosen for their merit, for their fitness; he orders Lord Howe to join Abercrombie "to be the soul of the enterprise." His foresight seems to have failed him only in the retention of the latter as commander-in-chief, defeat of England in America. It seems to be the concensus of

opinion that, had Lord Howe been in full command, he could not have exposed himself in the vanguard as he did, and have met this untimely death. We all know the stampede, the utter abjection of the troops, after his death. Howe, in command then might have made the selection of Amherst unnecessary, the year after, to proceed against Ticonderoga, up the Richelieu, as far as Montreal. It might have made unnecessary the expedition against Quebec by this other discriminating find of Pitt; General Wolfe. And if Montcalm, beaten at Carillon, had escaped the fate of Howe, the two great generals immortalized on the plains of Abraham, in a dual death which deprived the one of the bitterness of a defeat that meant the loss of an empire to his country; and the other of the fruits of a victory, which gave his country mastery over a whole continent—these two men of really heroic mould might have been spared to a life of achievements as glorious, and of priceless services to their respective country. But who would envy their death? Both enshrouded in their national emblems, as they fell, they gave to their countrymen a great deal more than their lives, the example of a patriotism, unsurpassed in its far reaching consequences.

The death of Montcalm, the Christian knight, the classic scholar, has been a constant inspiration to the descendants of the handful of Frenchmen who were left to pledge a reluctant allegiance to England. It sustained them in their protracted struggles for the constitutional rights guaranteed them by treaty, but constantly threatened by English bureaucracy, it supported them in the maintenance of ideals, which, preserved to this day their racial characteristics to a degree that no other ethnic group in this America, so essentially cosmopolitan, ever succeeded in retaining.

It is not my province to speak of those early and long-drawn out clashes between the French of Canada and the British crown, for a recognition of the former's rights, and parliamentary privileges, but let me say that the resistance of the colony against pressure from abroad, and persecution from within, was as heroic as their desperate defence before the conquest.

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This beautiful region was not to be in the possession of England as long as France held sway over it. Sixteen years only of undisputed dominion, and many of those who had fought the French on these shores were striking a fatal blow to England occupation. The children of the soil, the rangers from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and the Green Mountain Boys under their famous leader, Ethan Allen, snatched Carillon from the grip of the British lion. Built by a Lotbiniere, it seems rather singular that at the time of its surrender the name of the commander of the English garrison was Laplace, which is as French as the name of the engineer who erected it.

New fortresses soon went up on the shores, Amherst seemed to have expended a good deal of energy in building them, more than their ultimate usefulness justified. The region, as we all know, became the scene of great conflicts through the revolutionary war; had Benedict Arnold died, waving his American flag on the burning galley, "Congress" in his encounter with a far superior British fleet, he would have been one of the great heroes of the revolution. Few commanders showed more daring, more skill, or were so alert in the defensive as was he.

Again in 1814, the English were to try to regain possession of the Lake, but the battle of Plattsburg so disastrous to their fleet, put an end to their ambition, and since then, the stars and stripes wave over the scenes of so much contention, where for a hundred and fifty years before, the fleur-de-lys, floated to the breeze, with a short interval when the British standard unfurled its proud colors on the old French forts and the surrounding country.

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But there is a phase of the history of the Lake which is of paramount interest to the thinker, to the man who reflecting upon the vicissitudes of nations, upon the kaleidoscopic changes, that are constantly metamorphosing, not only their geographic but also their ethnic conditions, studies a little the development, the growth of the charming cities, and the picturesque villages that dot its shores.

Let us make a brief review of the attempts at colonization in the valley. As we all know, few settlements were made by the French, although several grants of land were made, by the King to Canadian officials and army officers which would have become in time vast seignories had these landed proprietors been able to induce young farmers to till a land so dangerously near the Mohawk war trail.

About 1731, a settlement was begun a la pointe a l'Algonquin, later known as Windmill Point in the western part of the present town of Alburgh. Sieur Francois Foucault, a member of the Supreme Council of Quebec had been granted a charter by the King of France, and this charter was renewed and augmented in May, 1743. This action was taken in recognition of the fact that Mr. Foucault had, as the charter of confirmation states, complied with the conditions of the original grant by establishing three new settlers, in addition to eight who had settled the year before, and that he had built in that year, 1731, a windmill of stone masonry, which cost nearly 4000 livres (about $800). He had also undertaken to build a church 20 by 40 feet in size, which was to be ready the next spring to receive a missionary. A lot of land, two acres in front by forty acres in depth had been conveyed free of charge, and accepted by the bishop of Quebec whereon should be built a church and a parochial house, with a room for a burial ground, and land that should aid in the maintenance of a missionary.

This settlement was short lived as was another begun here in 1741. Later, Mr. Foucault transferred his grant to Gen. Frederick Haldimand, British Governor of Canada from 1778 to 1784. General Haldimand, in turn sold the property to Henry Caldwell, who lived in Belmont, a town near Quebec, and for several years thereafter, the present town of Alburgh was known as Caldwell's upper manor. Foucault's concession was probably the first one, where a settlement had been seriously attempted. However, the first public record bearing on this subject, is an order issued by the King, dated May 20, 1676, v. g., 55 years before Foucault's grant and authorizing such grants on Lake Champlain.

One of the largest of these grants or seigniories was made on October 7, 1743, to Gilles Hocquart, intendant of Canada, from 1728 to 1748, at one time Councillor of State and intendant of the Naval forces at Brest. According to an early map printed at

Albany by Richard H. Pease, this seigniory appears to have included the present towns of Panton, Addison, Waltham, New Haven, Weybridge and portions of Bridgeport, Cornwall, Middlebury and Bristol. In a communication from the British Board of Trade, addressed to the Committee of the Privy Council, the lordship of Hocquart is estimated to contain 115,000 acres. In 1764, it was transferred to Michel Chartier de Lotbiniere, to whom the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Canada, had granted in 1758, the seignory of Alainville, in recognition of his services in laying out Carillon. This last grant embraced more than four leagues in front, and 5 leagues in depth, lying partly on Lake George and partly on Lake Champlain.

Among other grants was one made to Mr. de Contrecoeur, Jr., July 7, 1734. "On the borders of Lake Champlain, beginning at the mouth of the Riviére Aux loutres (Otter Creek) one league and a half above, and one league and a half below, making two leagues in front by three in depth, together with so much of said Riviére aux loutres, as is found therein, with those islands or islets which are in front of said concession and depend thereon." This grant probably included the present towns of Ferrisburg, and Monkton, the City of Vergennes, and portions of Panton, Waltham, New Haven and Bristol. On July 6, 1743, a grant was made to Sieur de Laperrière, one league above and one league below the river Ouinouski. Captain Laperrière was an officer, stationed at the castle of Quebec who became governor of Montreal in 1752. This seigniory included a part or all of the present city of Burlington. My paternal grandmother was a Laperrière. I never realized till I made these researches how near I came to being Lord of Burlington ! !

The next grant lying to the north was made to Mr. Raimbault. There is on record a deed of sale made in Montreal, bearing the date of September 27, 1766, by which the heirs of Mr. Pierre Raimbault "in his lifetime, lieutenant-general for his most christian majesty, of the jurisdiction of this city (Montreal) transferred the seigniory of Lamanandière to Benjamin Price, Daniel Robertson and John Livingston. The price agreed upon was 90,000 livres (about $18,000) current money of the province," half of which was to be paid in gold and silver, and half in merchandise, at the prices

then current in Montreal. This was one of the first recorded land transfers in Northern Vermont.

The text of this deed is published in the manuscripts relating to the French claims, in the New York State papers; and the compiler has added a marginal note to the effect that Burlington is situated on a part of the seigniory of Lamanaudière.

This would seem to be an error, as the deLery map, made in Quebec, in October, 1748, by Mr. Anger, the King's Surveyor, shows Mr. Raimbault's grant to have extended from a point near the head of Mallet's Bay on the South to a point on the north, apparently in the Town of Georgia. The deed of sale states that the southern boundary of the Raimbault's grant is the seigniory granted to Laperrière which lay a league above, and a league below the mouth of the Winoski River.

As you notice, all of these grants laid on the eastern shore of the lake, in what became later the State of Vermont. But there were quite a few on the western bank. "On April 10, 1733, a grant of two leagues or 2 1-2 in front by three in depth along the river Chambly and Lake Champlain, together with the river Chazy included therein and isle la Motte," was made to Sieur Péan, major of the town and castles of Quebec, and member of the Superior Council of that city. This grant included the northern part of the present town of Champlain, and it was transferred on May 2, 1754, to Daniel Lienard, Sieur de Beaujeu, who owned the seigniory immediately north. Both de Contrecoeur, to whom had been granted Isle Longue or North Hero, and Beaujeu, were prominent in the operations around Fort Duquesne, and the latter lost his life in the battle which resulted in General Braddock's defeat and death, at the beginning of the French and Indian war. Grants, a little to the south of Beaujeu's seigniories, were made to Sieur St. Vincent, ensign of foot, and also to Sieur Legauchetière, a captain of marines.

It is difficult to give the exact limits of any of these grants as the early maps were far from accurate in many particulars, and the boundaries as shown on different maps are not always the same. Most of these grants, being unimproved, reverted to the Crown by virtue of an order issued at Quebec, May 10, 1741, by the Governor, the Marquis de Beauharnois.

As might have been expected, a storm of protests descended upon the head of the administration. These protests show how hopeless and thankless a task an attempt at colonizing the Champlain Valley was at this period. For instance, the Sieurs de Contrecoeur and Laperriére maintained that: It was impossible to find individuals willing to accept land though they offered them some on very advantageous terms, and were willing even to give 300 livres, to engage the same individuals."

Sieur de Lafontaine offered to give to those whom he will find willing to settle there, grain and even money, asking from them no rent in order to obtain from them, by the allurement of this gift, what he cannot obtain by force. Sieur Roebert, who had been given a grant above the Bouquet River writes: that he had neglected nothing to induce some young farmers to go and settle there by procuring for them great advantages and many facilities.

To graciously bestow tracts of land on Lake Champlain was for his most christian majesty a rather anodyne procedure, whereas the establishment and the development of such grants were fraught with the gravest dangers, which the allurement of a few hundred livres was not sufficient to make the young farmers forget.

The raising of families was as risky an undertaking as the raising of grain. Both were at the mercy of incursions of savages, and constantly threatened with annihilation; and the lofty and disinterested offers of the grantees were accordingly very coldly received. Their scalps were as dear to these farmers as theirs to the landlords, and they did not intend to expose this precious possession for farms, the cultivation of which, in the state of things, guaranteed food rather more to the children of the forest than to their own.

So, as we say in French, ce beau geste of the King, and his faithful landlords in America was lost on unappreciative farmers who preferred a relative safety at home to such dangerous allurements abroad.

There is, however, every evidence that for a few years a prosperous colony flourished around Fort St. Frederic. A Swedish traveller, being received by the commander, Mr. de Lusignan in 1748, describes it very graphically. But these colonists had the protection of the fort, and were ordered inside its walls when the least suspicion of danger justified it.

That the French government was unaffected by these repeated failures at colonizing goes without saying. Had it been as solicitous of the welfare of the colony as it was of the fortune of the few Canadian favorites who were solely to benefit by these grants; had it given more thought to its possession, the history of Lake Champlain might have been written in another manner, and possibly in another language.

Most of the English settlements were begun after 1760, that is, after the close of the French and Indian war. They were mostly New Hampshire grants. But following immediately the hostilities, the colony of New York issued grants on both sides of the Lake to more than eighty reduced British officers. Charlotte County had been organized, including both the east and west shores of the Lake. A large section between Otter Creek and Mallet's Bay was set aside for the disbanded soldiers of the recent wars. But this was so resented by the Green Mountain Boys that this invasion of British veterans had to be checked.

The land controversies between the New York authorities and the settlers on the New Hampshire grants kept the region in a state of turbulence, and it is through this period that Ethan Allen began his picturesque career.

He made himself so obnoxious to the New York authorities by his zeal in defending the land titles issued under New Hampshire authority that in 1772 a price was set upon his head.

Fortunately, the outbreak of the war of the revolution united in a common cause the Green Mountain Boys and not a small number of the loyalists of New York.

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The valley had at last reached the peaceful state for which Nature had intended it. It had become a beautiful region of homes, farms and industries for which its rich soil lavishly furnished the raw materials. Steam boats soon began to ply between its busy centres, where before the flat boats and the bateaux carried the armed legions of England and France. And to man these industries, to till this soil, strong hearts and sturdy hands were needed; then descended upon the land swarms of Frenchmen of the North, the sons of those who had been forced to evacuate it not

quite a century before. They were a brave lot, they had been nurtured in hardships, they had found at times the yoke of England rather oppressive, and possibly they instinctively felt that her former colonies would be in time her most formidable rival in the arts of peace and industry. They came in steady streams from far away Acadia up the Richelieu River, just like Champlain had done to locate the Lake. They followed with their plows and axes the old war-trail, and began to fell the trees, float the lumber and open trenches that would yield in time corn and grain. And their black eyed woman soon followed, the industrious and prolific mothers, and numberless children, the hope of the future and the promise of racial survival. Onward they drifted on the French grants of yore, on the New Hampshire grants, and the New York grants, their ranks constantly swelled by new arrivals from beyond the border, until their number far exceeded all the French population of Canada after the conquest.

So the descendants of the contemporaries of Champlain and Montcalm, for whom these heroes toiled and fought, seem to have regained a part of that lost inheritance. Unconsciously carrying out the destiny of which the discoverer had a clear vision, but of which the last defender had probably despaired in his last moments, when he realized that in the fall of Quebec an empire was lost to France; these Normans of America have invaded a territory that was their ancestors', by right of discovery and of supremacy for a century and a half.

There was no conqueror at their head in this new invasion of new Anglo-Saxon land, theirs was as quietly undertaken as pacific and I may add as welcome, as William's was turbulent, stormy, and his rule despotic after the conquest. But they brought with them the cult that had sustained them in the years of oppression, their beautiful traditions, and have not as yet abandoned this quaint Norman speech, the sturdy tongue of the great explorers and the great discoverers, which, if not as pliable, as musical as modern French, is as direct, as energetic, as viril as the men who first sounded it in the primeval forests of America. We all know the influence of the Norman invasion on English language; we all know how the Saxons assimilated the speech of the conquerors so that their vocabulary was made richer by at least 13,000 words; what

if these American hordes should impose this same French in these regions? Would their allegiance to the country that welcomes them be less loyal? Would they shirk the duties of this newly acquired citizenship? Let subsequent events answer these questions.

There is a phase of French co-operation in the War of the Revolution which it not generally mentioned by historians. The great names are on every one's lips, and I have tried on previous occasions to bring out from their relative obscurity the stars of lesser dimensions, but let me recall the French Canadian and the French Acadian contribution to this War. If the agents of the American Congress were unsuccessful in their efforts to induce the Canadians to join them in a general uprising, it is a well authenticated fact that a goodly number of these Frenchmen enrolled themselves under the banner of Washington. And in recognition of their valued services, the State of New York granted them a tract of land which is now Clinton County, where they colonized and multiplied, reinforced by emigration, until today, in the counties of Clinton, Essex and Washington they number 30,000. In 1861 more than 500 men of French origin, all citizens of these counties, rallied to the rescue of a threatened union which their own ancestors and so many men of their own blood had so effectively helped to upbuild. Allow me to get out of this region but not out of the State of New York, on the shores of another lake, and there, in the City of Oswego, behold the spectacle of a young man 18 years old of French origin, raising a company of 112 men all French, the oldest of whom was barely twenty, and offering to General Grant their lives for the defense of this same Union. Captain Edmund Mallet was his name, he was a man of small stature and when six months later he was struck by a bullet and left for dead on the battlefield, but finally rescued by one of his men, and after weeks of suffering was brought into the presence of General Grant, the Commander-in-chief shaking his hand and conferring upon him the title of "Major," said: "Capt. Mallet, I am sorry, you are too small to be a General and too great to be only Major."

Those are some of the deeds of these Normans of America, or rather of these oldest of Americans. They have been loyal to England when the fortunes of war broke the ties of kinship and fatherland, and those who, coming up the old war-trail, pledged their al-

legiance to the land of Freedom and opportunities, have shown their loyalty and their patriotism in such deeds. And it is one of the great lessons of History that both of the nations, which battled here so long for supremacy, have lost to a new nation, born yesterday, offspring of one of them, marvellously grown, a region, where now peacefully live side by side, the descendants of both, claiming a common patrie, and sheltered by a common flag.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE WAR OF 1812.

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The opening years of the nineteenth century were filled with embarrassment and danger to the American people who were engaged in trying to solve what was then in its infancy an experimental problem in government and politics. Here was a nation in which a new governmental idea was in process of evolution and as yet but imperfectly developed—a nation which only three decades before had sprung unexpectedly to itself and almost by accident into an independent existence—a nation whose destiny seemed to lie in the hands of inexperienced and half educated mediocrity. Here was a republic in which republican sentiment was little more than embryonic and whose coherence was chiefly maintained by the primitive instinct of self preservation against the rapacity of Europe. It was the genesis of a type in the political history of the world. Here were to be found extremes of toryism and radicalism. Here, growing out of social and economic questtions, were acute sectional differences between New England on the one hand, and the South and West on the other. Here was a party whose sympathies in the great political drama then being enacted abroad and claiming the attention of the world, were distinctively French. Here was an opposing party whose sympathies, notwithstanding that the natural legacy of the preceding century to the young American republic had been one of estrangement and hatred toward the English government and people, were, nevertheless, as distinctively English. And either party was more than willing to commit the United States entirely to the cause which it espoused. No clear cut and definite line of domestic national policy could with ease be formulated. The Revolutionary conflict had not taken its place as yet in the calm perspective of distant history. Because of its nearness, the length and breadth of that magnificient struggle could not be appreciated. It com-

pletely overshadowed us. Its memory was a passion. We were intoxicated by it. The oppressions, the cruelties, the insults and the taunts of the mother country were matters of recent family and personal record. The campaigns and battles, the victories and defeats, the despondency and triumphs of that memorable period seemed like autobiographies. The nation was not old enough nor strong enough as yet to be magnanimous.

But the south had particularly suffered during the Revolution on account of frequent predatory incursions by the British and because of the bitterness which characterized the partisan warfare between patriot and tory; and here, especially, the intense prejudice, the white-hot hatred which followed estrangement from England, had subsided but little. Its embers were always glowing and might be easily fanned into a flame.

And on the other hand, indeed, this sentiment of hostility was returned with interest. The English government, rich in resources and in power, regarded the American people as rebellious upstarts who by advantages of geographical position and certain fortuitous and lucky circumstances, had, through the assistance of France, temporarily established themselves upon a so-called independent footing. That this would be an ephemeral condition only, they confidently predicted and believed. Our republican theories and pretensions to national rank and importance they viewed with haughty contempt. They did not even take the trouble to be polite. While pretending to stand aloof they smiled and sneered and exulted because they thought they detected at work of our national veins the poison of discord—a venom which they trusted should soon destroy our national life. And that it was so, is, indeed, a matter of little wonder to him who becomes familiar with the narrow views and selfish motives which gave character to public discussions during the first thirty years subsequent to the Revolution; the insane drivel which was employed to vilify the names and purposes of the greatest Americans of the period; and the slavish acceptance as a fundamental basis of government of that delusive doctrine "vox populi, vox Dei." The fermentation was intense and verily it did seem as if the reign of the patriot had ended and the reign of the demagogue had come.

But England apparently could not resist the tempation to actively molest. She could not patiently await the natural process

of disintegration. There is abundant reason to believe that her emissaries purposely instigated the Indians upon our northwestern frontier to harass and murder our pioneers. Upon the high seas she openly did us injury. She searched our ships and impressed our seamen and brutally declared it to be her right. She deliberately affronted us whenever and wherever it was possible and contemptuously disregarded our protests. She sought opportunities to humiliate us and then ridiculed our humiliation. The situation became unbearable and the prophecy of the far-seeing Franklin, uttered years before, came at length to be understood: "The war for independence has yet to be fought."

Moreover, during the decade immediately preceding the war of which I speak, sinister events affecting our interests were attracting the attention of christendom. A stupendous figure filled the eyes of the world. The tides of war were ebbing and flowing about the so-called Man of Destiny. That superlative robber, Napoleon Bonaparte, was scourging the European continent with fire and sword and lashing the political seas of the old world into bloody foam. In this general disturbance—the most serious in modern history—England speedily became involved, and in the name of military expediency she rashly abused the rights of neutrals and forbade the exercise of peaceable trade. And so, under cover of circumstances in which America had no part, she seemed wantonly and deliberately to aim additional blows against American prosperity, honor and self-respect.

But in justice to the truth concerning this whole matter let us recall in passing that if "orders in council" humiliating to American pride and destructive to American commerce with France and her allies proceeded from the Lords of the Ministry at London, decrees more humiliating and equally destructive to American commerce generally, proceeded from Milan and Berlin and Bayonne and Rambouillet, promulgated by Napoleon. And let us not forget that if England impressed the American seaman, then France declared the seaman so impressed to be a pirate. If on the one hand he lost his liberty, on the other he was likely to lose his life. And furthermore it must be remembered that there was, perhaps, in the dark heart of Napoleon, that hater of all that savoured of democracy, a more malignant ulterior purpose than had ever been cherished across the channel.

Poor America was being crushed between the millstones and her plight was desperate. Unless relief could be secured through the channels of wise diplomacy the issue must be left to the stern arbitrament of war. But Jefferson, in whose hands lay the administration at the time when the situation first became acute, was too high-spirited and uncompromising for a really successful diplomatist. He much preferred to dictate terms. And yet he was not for war. England he dreaded and France had been long endeared to him. And therefore the policy he did adopt and which found expression in the embargo and non-intercourse acts, was one of childish reprisal against the commerce of the offending nations with ourselves—a puerile proceeding which only excited the mirth of the countries against which it was directed. But it was amazingly well calculated to bankrupt our own resources at the time, to cripple our industries and distress the whole country, and to delay indefinitely the hour when a final reckoning with either France or England could safely be exacted.

The inadequacy of any such measures to secure redress of grievances at length became apparent and their continuance threatened to disrupt the Union. Then it was that the administration party was compelled either to admit that its attempt at statecraft had been a pitiable failure or to claim that all means of peaceful adjustment had been exhausted and that nothing now remained but war. Of course it chose the latter. But war with whom? If with France it must be wholly defensive. No thought of invading French territory could for a moment be entertained. Thanks to Jefferson's measures our navy inspired no confidence whatever. A war with France would surely condem the country to inactivity except as an ally with that England who treated us with contempt.

But as against England the case was different. She herself was more open to attack. Her most valuable colony lay along our northern border and presented many a vulnerable point. Here was a chance for conquest and who knew but that the broad domain of Canada might soon be added to the territory of the United States. It was confidently prophesied that if war should be declared American soldiery might almost immediately occupy the Canadian lake ports, encamp in Montreal and man the heights of Quebec.

Moreover, a species of camaraderie had developed between the Americans and the French during the Revolutionary period and in that other dark hour of history when France in her turn was giving birth to an abortive liberty; and this sentiment the insolence of the Directory, the abuse heaped upon us in consequence of Jay's treaty with England in 1795, the dishonesty of Talleyrand and the selfish but shrewd injustice of Napoleon himself could not entirely overcome. It seemed very easy to forgive France, our ancient friend, the land of Lafayette, and to lay her sins at the door of England, our unnatural mother.

And so the country writhed beneath the insults of England which were grave enough and beneath the insults of France which were just as grave, endured the destruction of American enterprise and commerce by British and French interference abroad and by Jeffersonian interference at home, until at last it would endure no more and the vials of wrath were opened. England's hands were now tied up with continental affairs, and our war party's clamor for war before those hands should be unloosed became irresistible and had to satisfied.

In this wise did the troubled waters of European politics extend themselves to the western hemisphere and create here a little vortex which has gone into history as the war of 1812. The second war for American independence was now to be fought.

The close student of this period will, I think, be likely to conclude: that, while to any self respecting people war would be a lesser evil than to suffer such humiliating conditions as were forced upon us, yet this war when it came had in it too large an admixture of partisan politics; that coupled with it were sentiments and purposes not entirely patriotic; that it found us inadequately prepared; that it was finally precipitated by a blind infatuation rather than calm good judgment; that in view of all attending circumstances it was at that particular time most dangerous and ill-advised; that it almost seemed an exhibition of providential favour that it did not prove to be a war of disintegration and loss of national existence; and that the utmost praise is due to the sturdy qualities of American character, its philosophic independence, its loyal good sense and its confidence in itself that the war did not so terminate.

I have said that this contest was precipitated by a species of infatuation because although provocation enough, many times over, had been given to justify a declaration of war against either England or France, no adequate forethought for such a struggle had ever been taken. On the contrary every instrument was crippled and every resource weakened. Our lack of military strength had been entirely overlooked, the probable character which the conflict would assume had been wholly misapprehended the while a boastful and undignified spirit of bravado seemed to pervade the land. It was as if we deemed ourselves invincible unarmored, and that victory must of necessity perch itself upon the banners of a righteous cause.

I have said that sentiments and purposes not altogether patriotic were observable because the war party—not inaptly styled the French party—were more than suspected of greater anxiety to throw the United States, with or without reason, into the balance against the most formidable enemy of France than to redress the grievances under which we languished; and it is also moderately well assured that the jealous planter interest of the South was not averse to plunging the country into war in the hope of realizing the coveted opportunity of permanently disabling the commercial interests of the North. During the political agitation of all these years, through the intense party prejudice, the acute jealousy of individual demagogues and open charges of treachery and bad faith, was clearly displayed the outcropping of that sectional antagonism which a half century later deluged the land with the blood of its victims, and traces of which even today unhappily exist.

The press in democratic countries is always a most powerful lever of influence, and this has ever been especially true of America. But at the time of which I speak the press of the United States was, for the most part in the hands of European political refugees and French sympathizers, and was better calculated to inflame the passions of the mob than to reflect the best judgment of American statesmanship.

I have said that the war, undertaken under the circumstances that obtained, was ill-advised and dangerous. I have made the statement because as Henry Clay, one of the most ardent war ad-

vocates, openly declared in the senate, and as it was urged by his followers everywhere, it was ostensibly a war for conquest. It aimed primarily at the seizure and plundering of Canada as a retaliatory measure against England and for the purpose of securing an advantage in dictating the terms of peace; and this on the part of a government without funds, without credit, without prestige in the family of nations, whose continuance on account of internal difficulties was exceedingly doubtful, with an army of from 6,000 to 10,000 men, very badly officered, and a navy comprising the tremendous total in serviceable and seaworthy condition of four frigates and eight sloops.

To get a clearer conception of the problem before us in 1812 let us remember that the Canadian provinces were everywhere defended by a wide belt of almost impenetrable wilderness presenting but few avenues of approach and haunted in general by Indians hostile to us; that the Canadian had always proved himself a brave and hardy antagonist and a foe entitled to respect; that the Canadian militia could be easily and quickly organized; that obedience to military command was traditional with them, and that they could be depended upon for loyalty; that conversely the American states along the border were either lukewarm or half rebellious against the war; that their militia at best could be mobilized with difficulty and, as the event proved, were likely to fail at the pinch in offensive operations. And yet Clay had loudly advertised that the militia of his State alone would be sufficient to lay Canada subdued and captive at our feet; and, strange to say, he found believers. It was the very acme of infatuation.

But the entire country did not share it. The war was by no means universally popular—a fact whereby the danger was increased. The "War-hawks" as they were called in congress had only a bare majority. The real clamor for contest came chiefly from the South and West—localities where fighting was a frequent incident in ordinary life and was looked upon with favor—where the duelling code was in force among those who styled themselves gentlemen, and fisticuffs with all the barbarous accompaniments of roughing and gouging were practiced among the humbler brethren.

Even President Madison and his cabinet were, on principle, averse to the war, and for years the former had ably opposed it with voice and pen. But in response to the imperative demands made upon him by the young fire-eaters of his own party, and apparently to secure a re-election, at a moment which was in reality the most favorable for a peaceful adjustment of our foreign relations that had yet presented itself, we find him consenting to plunge his country into what promised to be a disastrous war with the greatest maritime power in the world.

The military operations of the first year resulted only in mortification and shame to American arms. General Hull, of Revolutionary service, from whom better things might have been expected, developed a timid incapacity which resulted in the loss of Michigan territory and the army of the west, and justified himself with some degree of plausibility on the ground of total non-support from the war department. The New York militia on the Niagara frontier displayed arrant cowardice at the moment when a noteworthy achievement was possible. General Dearborn failed in his design of attacking Montreal because, as he alleged, the militia of the Champlain region refused to execute his purpose. All these things and others of similar purport are matters of familiar history, the details of which I need not inflict.

On the other hand, after the contemplation of these discouragements the American heart again beats high at the brilliant successes on the sea of our gallant little navy which quite unexpectedly gave the lie to the boasted invincibility of Great Britian. Even though it must be confessed that these achievements were in some degree made possible through British obstinacy in refusing to concede that American naval prowess was an appreciable quantity, yet our pride is none the less sincere. The navy contributed the redeeming feature in 1812.

In the following year that defect in British foresight began to be remedied and American naval triumphs correspondingly diminished. The year opened sorrowfully. The New England harbors were blockaded and the Chesapeake coast was devastated.

Inland, the monotonous story of the incompetency of General Hampton and General Wilkinson in the Champlain region, the unpatriotic—some have been harsh enough to say treasonable—con-

duct of Governor Chittenden of Vermont with reference to the State militia, and the petty raids along the Ontario frontier were at last relieved by the first really decisive engagement of the war—Commodore Perry's brilliant victory over the British fleet on Lake Erie. This victory made possible the battle of the Thames and Harrison's subsequent redemption of Michigan and the occupation of Canada as far east as Buffalo.

But the character of the war was rapidly changing. Its original object was forgotten. It had begun offensively. It was now fast assuming a defensive aspect. Operations along the entire border were reducing themselves to mere assaults and reprisals against the frontier towns. Nothing more. These small affairs were sometimes accompanied by instances of individual heroism but in themselves were of trifling importance. Apart from the moral effect upon a discouraged country, the chief significance even of the battles of Lake Erie and the Thames is agreed to be merely the breaking up of an Indian Confederacy and the relief of Ohio from the danger of British invasion. Beyond this the possession of western Canada with its isolated cabins, its impassable swamps and intricate forests was of no consequence. The conquest of Montreal and Quebec was farther off than ever.

In the spring of 1814 Napoleon's sun had apparently set. Leipsic had been fought. Paris had fallen. The Bourbon restoration had come. The man for whom all Europe had been too small was now retired to the narrow boundaries of Elba.

Heretofore Great Britian had been able to but feebly press her American war. Now the veterans of Wellington were free to be employed against us and the English war party demanded that we be made to feel in full the weight of England's puissant arm. But while, no doubt, the British government had resolved to prosecute the war in a manner more commensurate with the power of the kingdom, yet concealed forces were already at work for peace. The continental war with Napoleon had severely taxed the energies of Great Britian. A period in which to recuperate from the exhaustion of that contest was imperatively necessary. Then, too, nations, like individuals, become rapidly wiser under the weight of serious burdens, and there seems to have been a growing impression among the British ministry that any extension of dominion

in America, even though it could be accomplished, would be attended by complications of a dangerous nature in which Great Britian must hesitate to engage; and this impression appears to have been sustained by the judgment and advice of Wellington himself. Therefore I suspect that the campaigns of 1814 against the United States were undertaken rather for the purposes of chastisement and to obtain respectable overtures for peace than with any hope or expectation of conquest.

During the early summer the Americans made at Niagara their last futile attempt to invade Canada. From that time onward the project was wholly abandoned. The war at last had become entirely defensive.

Now occurred the first elaborate attempt of England since the Revolution to bring her one time colonies to terms. Three heavy blows were aimed against the United States—one on the north from Montreal, one in the middle Atlantic region from Bermuda and a third against New Orleans from Jamaica. For each of these purposes veteran troops were to be employed in superior force. It has been surmised that a junction of the army brought to bear upon the north with the forces of Admiral Cochrane and General Ross in the Chesapeake region was intended. This I regard as more than doubtful. Some of the writers whom I have consulted believe that such a junction was contemplated, but more are silent upon the question. Mr. Lossing evidently believed that the capture of Albany and New York was the objective. Mr. Alison, the British historian, declares that Prevost, who commanded the northern expedition, was expected merely to co-operate with Sherbrooke and Griffith, who were carrying on a predatory warfare of small significance along the coast of Maine. To me, however, it seems probable that the chief purpose of England, who was very desirous of obtaining the absolute and undisputed control of the great inland lakes, was to reduce the States to such extremities that the cession of a belt of territory along their southern shores could be insisted upon. At any rate the peace commissioners who had been appointed by the President at the suggestion of the British government sometime before were kept at arm's length until after the attempt at invasion on the north had col-

lapsed and then the negotiations for peace were hurriedly pushed to completion.

As to the point of attack it is probable that the general-in-chief in Canada had practically unlimited discretion. But in any case the choice must have determined itself. Lake Champlain was the line of least resistance. It was the natural gateway into the interior. The country about it was an important reservoir of supplies whose possession was indispensable to Canada. Moreover, it presented the most vulnerable opening. Not only was this frontier at all times inadequately strengthened, but now with that imbecility which seemed to characterize the war administration throughout, it was weakened to the last degree even in the face of an invading army. Here, therefore, the blow was confidently struck, and here, upon the blue waters of Cumberland bay was fought the second decisive battle of the war—a battle which more than any other opened the way for peace.

Meanwhile the Chesapeake expedition had arrived, the utter incompetency of the war department had once more been shown and a crowning disgrace had befallen the United States in the capture and sacking of their national capital. The mortification was none the less keen because almost simultaneously with the battle of Lake Champlain, Baltimore and Fort McHenry made successful resistance against the same attacking forces that had captured Washington and, in the third engagement of the war which could claim anything like a decisive character, caused this feature of the British plans to end in confusion and disgust.

You will remember how early in January of the succeeding year the southern expedition from Jamaica met its fate at the hands of Andrew Jackson; but that remarkable battle of New Orleans which in far-reaching effects was easily the greatest event of the war, occuring as it did after the treaty of peace was signed, will scarcely fall within the limits of this address.

The victory at Plattsburg, splendid as it was, the brilliant sortie of General Brown in the seige of Fort Erie, the gallant defense of Baltimore and Fort McHenry—all these but imperfectly served to salve the shame of the Washington affair. The whole country was dispirited. It saw that some one had blundered. It had never expected to be put so much upon the defensive. It was in desper-

ate straits with two-thirds of all its trading and mercantile classes in bankruptcy and everyone clamored that the war should cease, so that when, in December, 1814, peace was finally secured, Federal and Democrat alike forgot for a time their differences in a wild delirium of joy without once stopping to recall that not a single point in the controversy which had led to the war was definitely conceded to us in the treaty which concluded it.

No doubt we Americans are apt to attribute to the successes of 1814 an influence upon the peace negotiations greater than they deserve, but even so it is a weakness entirely innocent and pardonable. Henry Clay, although one of the most ardent advocates of the war, is nevertheless quoted as declaring that the only events which made it possible for an American minister to visit the court of St. James without humiliation were those which transpired, not before but after the treaty of peace was signed. But Clay, after all due allowance has been made for his brilliancy, was yet a man of impulsive statement and unreliable judgment, and that the events of 1814, resulting in the frustration of British designs, exercised an important agency upon the peace commission is undeniably true; but operating to give a forcible complexion to these events were certain other considerations none the less powerful to say the least, to which let me direct your attention.

England had once more learned that America could fight both hard and successfully against even the trained veterans of Europe; that her citizen soldiery when a little practiced in war and when stimulated by intelligent patriotism made the very best in the world. The English dream, indulged from time immemorial, of invincibility on the sea, the natural theatre of this contest, had been rudely broken eighteen months before. And all these things must have naturally produced a gravitation toward peace; but the obstinacy of John Bull is proverbial and it is more than likely that the ominous mutterings from the still storm-clouded European sky were powerfully instrumental in giving these considerations their appropriate weight. England had lately discovered and was duly impressed by the fact that her stalwart neighbor, Russia, was taking a mysterious and friendly interest in America and her affairs, and when in September, 1814, the Congress of Vienna met to re-construct the map of Europe, she was disagreeably startled

by the early and prompt action of her late allies, Russia and Prussia, in insisting that if further European difficulties should occur the rights of neutrals must be guaranteed against abuse. Conditions now obtained under which Great Britian could more wisely afford to abandon her disregard of neutrality laws than to maintain it further and which made it dangerous to claim the right of search.

She was also quick to see that through the quarrels in which the Congress of Vienna speedily became involved another general European war was imminent and indeed that in preparation for the struggle the continental nations had already begun to arm themselves; and she fully realized that in the event of this war her American complications were bound to become embarrasing and expensive and that all her resources must be carefully protected and husbanded against the hour of greater need.

It is therefore reasonably certain, I apprehend, that even as we were immediately indebted to the action of foreign politics for the war of 1812 itself, so we were also appreciably indebted to the agency of foreign politics for that early and oddly patched up peace which was concluded under the name of the Treaty of Ghent.

ROCK INSCRIPTION AT THE RUINS OF OLD FORT ST. FREDERICK AT CROWN POINT.

Mr. Frederick B. Richards, Secretary,
New York State Historical Association,
Glens Falls, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Richards:—

During our association's visit to the ruins of old Ft. St. Frédéric and Fort Amherst, at Crown Point, on the 5th instant, Mr. Reid, a member of our party and author of *Lake George and Lake Champlain* (New York, 1910,) asked to me examine an old rock inscription, whose interpretation had not been determined by historians. Upon my return to Albany, as soon as I could take up the matter, I undertook to unravel the apparent mystery. The tentative results are embodied in the enclosed letter to Mr. Reid and may be deemed worthy of preservation in the volume which will record the proceedings of the association's recent meeting and tour on Lake Champlain.

Yours very truly,
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,
State Historian.

The Capitol,
Albany, October 14, 1910.

Oct. 14th, 1910.

Mr. W. Max Reid,
Amsterdam, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Reid:—

I believe I have the solution of that rock inscription at Fort St. Frédéric. Approximately the inscription reads, line for line, thus:

Dagneaux aux faint
Dagneaux at Saint
Frederic le 15 out
Frederic the 15 August
1730
1730

ROCK INSCRIPTION AT CROWN POINT
VIEW OF RUINS OF NORTH CURTAIN OF FORT ST. FREDERIC

The 15th of August is the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the calendar.

N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. IX, p. 1022, summarizing a letter of the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor of Canada, dated October 15, 1730, (N. S). thus: "The Marquis de Beauharnois states that the English apparently intend to form some posts in these parts, he having been informed that some Dutchmen of Orange were going there to trade with the Indians. This induced him to send one officer and thirty soldiers thither this year, with orders to drive them away."

The above is confirmed by N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. IX, p. 1021, dated February 5, 1731 (N. S.), thus: "M. de Beauharnois having been informed that the English of Orange were going to Lake Champlain and its vicinity to trade with the Indians, sent an officer and thirty soldiers thither in 1730, with orders to drive them thence; but owing either to their having been warned, or from some other cause, none of them were found there."

Another link in the chain of evidence is in N. Y. Col. Docs., vol. V, p. 910, Commissioners of Indian Affairs to Governor Montgomerie, of New York, dated at Albany, November 26, 1730, (O. S.), thus: "(we are informed that the French are to build a Fort at Crown Point at the south end of Corlaer's Lake but one hundred and twenty miles from this place) perhaps on pretence to intercept and prevent the Trade of Indians hither and to Canada is also against said Treaty" [etc]. See also same volume, p. 928.

The foregoing communication to the Governor of New York was dated at Albany, on November 26, 1730 (O. S.). Only a few days later, namely on December 3 (O. S.), the Council Minutes (manuscript) show that the English government of New York, represented in Council meeting at New York City, was aware of the French designs to build a fort at Crown Point. See MS. Council Minutes, vol. 16, p. 72.

The evidence is, then, that prior to October, 1730, the French Canadian governor, M. de Beauharnois, had sent an officer and thirty men to Lake Champlain to drive off traders of Albany who were expected to make their appearance on Lake Champlain; that the French plan proposed the erection of a post at Pointe de la

Chevelure or, as called by the English, Crown Point (I do not enter here into a discussion of location); that the Commissioners of Indian Affairs of New York informed Governor Montgomerie of the French design and the reasons thereof, whereupon the Council, sitting at New York City, on December 3, 1730 (O. S.) took cognizance of the fact.

Who was the "officer" that commanded the "thirty soldiers"? On the rock inscription we find the name Dagneaux and the date August 15, 1730, which date would be "New Style," of course. This date is an important feast day of the Roman Catholic Church.

There are several persons who bore the name Dagneaux. I believe the name on the rock stands for Michel Dagneaux, Sieur de Douville. You will find him mentioned in Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," vol 69, p. 307; also in "Canadian Archives," 1904, p. 198 of Appendix K, where it is stated that the Comte de Maurepas, advising Governor de Beauharnois, allowed the retirement of Sr. Dagneaux Douville from the service, and that his place be granted to his son, Sr. Dagneaux de Saccaye [i. e. Saussaye]. This item is dated April 20, 1734 (N. S.). Now, Dagneaux de Douville was one of those who received a grant of land on Lake Champlain, the approval of which, on April 30, 1737 (N. S.), is found in "Canadian Archives," 1904, Appendix K, pp. 239, 242. This grant is laid down on the map of the French grants, as No. 37, in "Doc. Hist. of N. Y." (Quarto edition), vol. 1, pp. 358. Apparently, it was in what is now Franklin County, Vermont, and in the town of St. Albans. I have not attempted to go into that matter. Michel Dagneaux, Sieur de Douville, died on March 24, 1753, at Montreal. (Tanguay, "Dict. Geneal." vol. 3).

Yours very truly,

VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS,

State Historian.

Oct. 22, 1910.

Hon. Victor Hugo Paltsits, State Historian,

My Dear Mr. Paltsits:—

Your interpretation of the inscription on the north curtain of old Fort St. Frederick at Point de la Chevelure or Crown Point,

must be accepted as a correct solution. It is far reaching and leads to further light on the building of the old fort. It also suggests another thought of interest.

The only light that we can get on this subject at this period is to be found in the French and English Colonial documents, from which I have culled a few extracts, and the Jesuit Relations. Beauharnois writes October 15, 1730, that he had sent an officer (D'agneau) and thirty men to Crown Point. The inscription tells us that "Dagneaux was at Crown Point Aug. 15, 1730," sent there with thirty soldiers presumably for the *Military Occupation of the Peninsula by France;* a record being made *on stone* on the day of the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Steps were immediately taken to defend the claim by the erection of a fort. This tablet, I am inclined to believe, was placed in the wall of the north curtain at the beginning (Aug. 15, 1730) and not at the end of its construction. The vital point was the record of the *military occupation,* and the erection of a fort to defend the claim which had been feebly protested against by the English for more than twenty years. During the period it had been neutral ground, a trading place for traffic with the Indians, both Iroquois and Algonquin, and a rendezvous for France in raids on the English settlements.

Gen. George Clark writes to Gov. Clinton, September 16, 1738: The French have built a strong fort at Crown Point about 15 (?) years ago (1723). (Probably a stockade).

Again in June 1743 he says: they (the French) did about twelve years ago erect (1731) another fort much stronger.

(May 7, 1747, Col. William Johnson writes that there were six little log houses outside the Fort).

Nov. 2, 1731, Rip Van Dam writes to the Board of Trade: "The French have already encroached and built a fort at a place called Crown Point." Again on April 6, 1732, he writes: in repect to a fort at Crown Point *now said to have been built.*

Louis XV on May 17, 1731, refers to a fort built at Crown Point. But on February 18, 1733, he again writes: "In anticipation of the establishment the English were projecting on Lake Champlain, a fort of stockades has been erected at Crown Point until an opportunity be had to build one more solid."

The *Machicoulis* Redoubt was in course of construction in October, 1734, at which time Sieur de la Gauchetiere with thirty men in garrison was commander. Beauharnois says: "Until the redoubt be built, a larger number of men cannot be accommodated at that place during the winter."

This is undoubtedly the structure inside the walls, frequently referred to as the "Citadel." The term *Machicoulis* refers to projecting stories or parapets arranged for the purpose of firing down on the enemy.

From Captain Stoddard's report to Gov. Clinton July 30, 1750, I find the following description of Fort St. Frederick:

"Thirty-two leagues south of St. Johns, on the Lake Champlain is the Fort Saint Frederick (called by us Crown Point) where a bay and a small river to the eastward forms a point on which the fort stands. This fort is built of stone the walls of a considerable height and thickness, and has twenty pieces of cannon and swivels, mounted on the ramparts and bastions, the largest of which is six pounders, and but a few of them. I observed the wall cracked from top to bottom in several places. At the entrance to the fort is a dry ditch, eighteen or twenty foot square and a draw bridge, there is a subteraneous passage under this draw bridge to the lake which I apprehend is to be made use of in time of need to bring water to the fort, as the well they have in it affords them but very little. In the northwest corner of the fort stands the citadel; it is a stone building eight square, four story high each turned with arches, mounts twenty pieces of cannon and swivels, the largest six pounders, four of which are in the first story and are useless until the walls of the fort are beat down. The walls of the citadel are about ten foot thick the roof high and very tant (?) covered with shingles.

"At the entrance of the citadel is a draw bridge and ditch of the same dimensions as that to the entrance to the fort. To the the south, southeast and southwest of the fort the ground is rising and is very advantageous of erecting a battery in case of a seige, as 'tis not above three hundred yards distance from the fort. Behind it the land is low, and some thousands of men may lie without receiving any damage from the cannon of the fort, as the ridge is a fine covert and lies circular so far as to flank two of the bastions. They have a chappel and

several other wooden houses in the fort which are put to no other use than the storing their provisions etc. The land near the fort is level and good, also on each side of the lake which they are settling, and since the peace there are fourteen farms on it, and great encouragement given by the king for that purpose, and I was informed that by the next fall, several more families were coming there to settle. This fort is of very great importance to the French; for in time of war the parties sent to our frontiers, are supplied with necessaries from hence, at the same time it serves as a place of retreat, it lying north of Albany but about 40 Leagues."

This is about all we can learn from Colonial documents, but contemporary accounts still continue to give us many side lights of value to re-searchers.

In the photo the party are looking at the inscription which is on the light colored stone in the lower course of masonry, in the ruined wall of the north curtain of the old fort, directly in front of the bent knee of the man with the straw hat.

Incidentally I wish to introduce another name for Crown Point.

The Earl of Waldegrave writes to the Board of Trade June 13. 1732: "The French have caused a fort to be built * * * at a place called *Pointe de la Couronne*, in English, Crown Point."

W. Max Reid.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES: THEIR WORK AND WORTH.

By Victor Hugo Paltsits, State Historian.

Mr. President, Members of the Association, Ladies and Gentlemen.—I had cherished the fond hope of being merely a listener and sightseer during the three days' proceedings of this annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association, but the active committee entrusted with the preparation of our programme having, earlier in the year, elicited a promise from me to prepare an address, took that tentative promise seriously, and being of a somewhat serious frame of mind myself, I found no avenue of escape.

For several years this association has invited coöperation among the county and local historical societies of the State of New York. It has adopted a movable plan for its own annual meetings, affording its members and friends the privilege of meeting each year in a different section of the State for the purpose of giving emphasis to the historical events of a particular region. I heartily endorse this regional plan and am glad to see coupled with it this year the important feature of touring the principal historical sites that are embraced in the programme. Such a plan is systematic; it is bound to attract attention, and may quicken local historical endeavor.

During the past year it has been my pleasure to address eight of the county historical societies and to meet those who are charged with the historical interests of those communities. Aside from this I have been reasonably familiar for many years with the local operations of historical societies throughout the State, through the publications of the societies. My visits have been in-

spired by the belief that the State Historian should meet at close range those who are locally banded together for the study of the important history of this State. We are mutually interested in keeping alive the memory of men and the remembrance of deeds that are inseparably linked with the past history and present prosperity of our State and Nation. It is our privilege to coöperate in the expansion of historical study and in the promotion of an intelligent and sane patriotism. To promote this good work, I have advocated the reorganization of the State Historian's work as follows: That he should foster the careful preservation and classification of the local public records throughout the State and make their character known through registers, inventories, calendars or other hand books for the use of interested students; to publish important bodies of the public records in accordance with the standards exacted by the best critical canons; to correlate the local historical interests in the State and promote friendly intercourse and exchange among the local historical societies. We have here the suggestion of a scientific plan, which would be productive of results that should be a wonderful boon for the advancement of historical scholarship. What more natural, therefore, than the choice for my subject today of one of State-wide importance, namely, "HISTORICAL SOCIETIES: THEIR WORK AND WORTH?"

We realize, of course, that historical societies are to a large extent the products of environment—of local conditions and opportunities. They necessarily depend upon persons of self-sacrificing enthusiasm, of erudition, of business ability and historical perspective for their successful administration and growth. It has been said truly that what is everybody's business is nobody's business. A historical society too often may be more or less moribund for the want of a guiding star who, seeing clearly opportunity and duty, dominates its affairs and brings it up to the full measure of usefulness. It is true that the work that any society can undertake to do is greatly dependent upon the size of its income. If its only resources are a small number of membership fees, its activities are restricted. But as "necessity is the mother

of invention," the guiding star, whom I have mentioned, will find out ways and means. He will attract persons who are engaged directly and indirectly in historical work or criticism and also persons who will perform work in the direction of collecting and preserving historical materials. Dr. Thwaites, at the head of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, speaking of the function of interesting the public, shows that "obviously this should be an intelligent, discriminating interest," and he adds: "Field meetings, popular lectures, work with schools, some measure of coördination with pioneer and old settlers' societies of the district, pilgrimages to places of historic interest, the promotion of anniversary celebrations, and the placing of tablets upon historic sites, all of these are within the province of the Society. Popularity and exact scholarship are not incompatible. One of the principal aims of an historical society should be the cultivation among the masses of that civic patriotism which is inevitably the outgrowth of an attractive presentation of local history."[1]

Professor J. Franklin Jameson, now Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution at Washington, has given expression to the following strong argument: "Energy cannot always be commanded; the work of societies must be done by the members they possess, and fortunate are those who possess a group of active and resourceful members; doubly fortunate if their organization is such as to give the control to these rather than to those eminent for something else quite alien to the business of history. But the counsel of courage is for all. Placed in the midst of material influences, our historical societies are charged with immaterial, one may even say spiritual, interests. They must be in and of the world. But they are wanting in insight and in that faith in American humanity which the study of American history should create if they do not believe it safe for them to cherish high and even austere ideals of scholarly endeavor; and they are recreant to their high trust if, having formed such ideals, they fail to pursue them in all the great work that lies before them, confident that before long their communities will appreciate and sustain their efforts. Like all of us in this com-

1. Thwaites. State and Local Historical Societies, in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, vol. IV (1906), pp. 258-9.

plex and vulgar world, they must make compromises and adjust themselves with outward cheerfulness to the actual conditions of their life; but at least let them economize their concessions, and keep alive an inward regret and dissatisfaction over every sacrifice of their true ideals." [1]

There are historical organizations whose function is limited and well-defined, hence there is no difficulty in hewing to the line. The Sons of Oriskany, the Prison Ship Martyrs Monument Association, etc., are examples of this kind. But we approach a complex problem when we consider the functions, scope, purpose or object of sectional or local historical societies, particularly in a great State like New York. Let us consider what their mission is, as viewed by persons whose information and experience are worthy of acceptation and assimilation.

The first national conference of state and local historical societies was held in Chicago, December 29, 1904, in affiliation with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. Similar meetings have been held each year since under the same auspices. There grew out of the meeting, just mentioned, a Committee on Methods of Organization and Work on the Part of State and Local Historical Societies, which made a report in December, 1905. [2] Dr. Thwaites, the chairman, wrote also a condensation of that report,[3] from which I quote. He says:

"In the judgment of the committee, an historical society, be it sectional, State, or local should collect all manner of archaeological, anthropological, historical, and genealogical material bearing upon the particular territory which that society seeks to represent.

"Such an institution may properly make an accurate survey of the archaeology and ethnology of its district; not only itself acquiring a collection illustrating the same, but entering into fraternal relations with neighboring collectors, private and public, and perhaps publishing a coöperative check-list. The records of the county government (or of the town, the village, or the city),

1. Jameson. The Function of State and Local Historical Societies, etc., in *Annual Report* of American Historical Association, 1897, pp. 58-9.
2. American Historical Association. *Annual Report*, 1905, vol. I, pp. 249-325.
3. In Iowa Journal of History and Politics, vol. 4 (1906), pp. 244-246.

of the courts, churches, and the schools should at least be listed. ...Diaries of original settlers, mercantile account-books, anniversary sermons, private letters describing early life and manners, field-books of surveyors, etc., are valuable manuscripts worthy of systematic collection. Local newspaper files are an important source of information, and should assiduously be collected and preserved. Pioneers should be 'interviewed' by persons themselves conversant with the details of local history. All manner of miscellaneous local printed matter should be secured, such as society, church and club year-books, programmes of local entertainments, catalogues and memorabilia of educational or other public and private institutions within the prescribed field of research—nothing of this sort comes amiss to the historical interest.

"Collections are naturally classified into libraries, museums, and portrait galleries. Into the library are properly deposited all manner of manuscripts, books, pamphlets, leaflets, broadsides, newspaper files, etc. They should be scientifically catalogued, so far as funds will allow, the manuscripts being if possible calendared, or in any event indexed; the least that can be expected is, that manuscripts be properly listed on standard catalogue cards. In the museum and gallery there should be deposited all portraits or relics bearing on the manners, early life, or personnel of the community or region. Public museums are frequently presented with embarrassing gifts; but tact and diplomacy can usually be depended on for eventual elimination. Perhaps in no department of a society's work are common sense and the trained judgment of the professed historical worker more frequently needed than in the conduct of the museum. This is one of the most valuable features of collection, when properly selected and administered; but unfortunately too many of our American Societies are the victims of undiscriminating antiquarianism—collection for collection's sake, without method or definite notion as to the actual scholarly value of the relic. Nothing is more deadly, in historical work, than unmeaning museums or 'popular attractions.'"

Professor Jameson has asked the following question:[1] "Would not fresh life be brought in if the society were to perceive clearly that its field of work is, rightly stated, *American his-*

1. American Historical Association. *Annual Report*, 1897, p. 56.

tory locally exemplified?" He is right. A historical society should not pursue its course in any spirit of mere provincialism. Its work, its resources and its sympathies should fit into the warp and woof of our national history.

Professor Henry E. Bourne, adverting to the diversity of aim and organization of American historical societies, has said: "This diversity is encouraging, for it proves that the interest in history and the desire to collect historical material are not restricted to a few communities nor dependent upon two or three groups or individuals. The consequence must be a broader interpretation of American history. Students naturally inquire with filial care into the origins of their State or section, and out of a friendly strife of these rival interests comes a more catholic curiosity." [1]

Another student [2] of the work of historical societies has said: "To gather and preserve the details of 'The every day life of each particular time and country'; to deal with facts rather than with fiction; to establish the truth of history by irrefragable proofs, is the mission of the State, the county, and the town historical societies." He suggests that local societies should collect the local printed documents in full series; also church records, old local sermons, transcripts of monumental and tombstone inscriptions, genealogies of families and personal biographies, memorabilia or personal reminiscences, biographical compilations, Indian traditions and relics, files of local newspapers, newspaper clippings on specific topics of local interest; and labor for the preservation of historic trees, historic sites and historic houses. And he calls attention to the fact that some of the American historical societies "have done much to unite and interest the people not only in State and local history, but to advance legislation and good government, and to promote literature, science, art and all that promotes intellectual development and ethical culture. More than this," he adds, "they are to be credited with doing much to inspire the large number of writers for the press and magazines of this country, who now make a specialty of historical topics, and furnish much interesting and profitable material for the use of the public."

1. American Historical Association. *Annual Report*, 1904, p. 117.

2. *The Value of Local History.* By Richard C. McCormick, in *Year Book* of Suffolk County Historical Society, 1897, pp. 33, 36.

I have presented these citations, even though verbose, because it is not unworthy to believe that in the multitude of these counselors there is to be found wisdom.

Some of our historical societes have died out with the demise of their active founders; some are moribund because no guiding star has arisen for them in the historical constellation; some are drifting without chart or compass toward the shoals for dismemberment; some meet so seldom to fan the embers of the historic hearth, that their own hearts have become chilled by inaction; some lack the courage of their own convictions; some are too much distracted from the business of history by other community interests; some are vigorous, resourceful and well-equipped in library, museum and publishing activities. I am convinced that there is not a county in the State of New York where a historical society cannot flourish and keep on flourishing, if its patriotic citizens will it and back up their will with their deeds. In every community there is ample time for fairs, euchre parties, social teas and dozens of other time-consuming things, all less important than the promotion of patriotism through the inculcation of historical truths. Let us have historical study clubs in every county, divided into local classes, for the study of local history. Get hold of this generation of children and in the next generation historical societies will be prosperous. Where is there more humdrum of business and social distraction than in the great city of New York? Yet, even here, through the City History Club, organized and nurtured by one woman, has this very thing been done. "Go ye and do likewise!"

Now that we have had a general perspective view of the scope of historical societies, let us endeavor to burrow somewhat more analytically into the mine of history and extract the ore.

"This is the time," says Professor Hart, of Harvard University, "to sweep up local and transient publications, and put them where the next generation will find them safe...Transient publications, pamphlets, fugitive reports—what the Germans graphically call *Flugschriften*—these are the worry of the tidy housekeeper, and the prize of the local library."[1] Another observer has said: "Very few original written or printed papers are entirely without value. The presumption is always in favor of

1. *American Historical Review*, October, 1898, p. 16.

preservation...A paper or book is often most valuable, not for the purpose for which it was originally designed, but for the sidelight which it throws on the condition and opinions of those by whom or for whom it was prepared. Old account books are of no value as proofs of indebtedness, but they are often of the greatest consequence in preparing tables of prices for the use of economic investigators. Old letters which have served their purpose as vehicles of information and even as rememberances of affection, often are most useful in delineating manners, in picturing the hopes and fears and aspirations of the society from which they spring, and even occasionally as tending to prove the continued life of the writer or his presence at a certain place at the time of writing."[1] Professor Henry E. Bourne also has said: "Many societies serve as convenient repositories for family documents or letters of permanent interest. This function is particularly useful in a country where few families retain their public importance more than two or three generations, so that for lack of family archives such papers may be dispersed or lost."[2] In an article on "The Gathering of Local History Materials,"[3] Dr. Thwaites says: "That with which we are all familiar is commonplace, and generally held in slight value; but the commonplaces of one generation are the treasured relics of the next. Interest in the things with which our fathers were familiar, it not mere idle curiosity. Relics in museums enable us more accurately in imagination to redress the stage of history; but the literary ephemera of other days, preserved in libraries, are still more valuable as mirrors of the past. The chance advertisement in the old newspapers, the tattered playbill, the quaintly-phrased pamphlet or musty diary or letter of a former time, are of inestimable value to the modern historian. In early days history was thought to be simply the records of royal courts and the conduct of military campaigns; but the history of the common people is now what interests us most—how the John and Mary of old lived in their wayside cottage, how Peter and Paul bargained in the market place, how the literati toiled in Grub street, and seafarers journeyed over the face of the deep.

1. George M. Carpenter, in *Proceedings* of Rhode Island Histotical Society, 1891-92, p. 67.
2. American Historical Association. *Annual Report*, 1904, p. 121.
3. Wisconsin Historical Society. *Bulletin of Information*, No. 25.

"It is the office of the historian to keep the world's memory alive. There will never be an end of the writing of history. Some one has truly said that each generation must write all past history afresh, from its own changing standpoint. But that this may continue, and with increasing advantage, there must never be an end of accumulating historical material; each generation must accumulate its own, for the benefit of its successor."

Again, another writer,[1] pointing out the desirability of recording contemporary facts, said that "it unfortunately happens that in the greater number of cases the things which everybody knows are the very things as to which no record will be made. They are familiar to all, no record or rememberance is needed for present use, and the most favorable time for collecting and arranging the necessary information is long past before any suggestion is made as to the importance of a permanent record. This defect in the records has continued down to the present time, and we have doubtless in the present age been guilty of great omissions in this regard."

The suggestion of keeping diaries and of writing out personal recollections or memorabilia, is very well put in an article on the "Value of Local History, and the Importance of Preserving It,"[1] from which I may quote briefly, as follows: "The personal recollections of individuals are of the first consequence to the history of a country. They are not to be confounded with history; they are the materials from which history is written—the foundation of history, or one of the foundations.—Many of the facts of history rest upon the statements made in diaries of private individuals and public officials. Five hundred years from now the daily life of the present will be as much a mystery as is the private life of a bygone age to us. It is in such diaries...that the small things of life are recorded, and as time passes these small matters are lost in the ever-changing customs of a people. This makes these diaries works of worth, and their value increases with every year of their age."

As much has been said about the accumulation of material

1. George M. Carpenter, *supra*, p. 64.

1. William E. Connelley, in *Transactions* of Kansas State Historical Society, 1897-1900, vol. VI, pp. 288-288.

for library and museum, it may be worth while to speak briefly of systematizing and methodizing the materials with a view to accessibility. The things that enter into the library should be classified. There are various systems of library classification, and the one best suited in each case must be carefully considered by the aid of an expert classifier, and perhaps best by coöperation with the trained librarian of the nearest public library. In a local historical society the regional element in classification is particularly important. Clippings of obituaries or other personalia can be mounted on note-size paper and be filed alphabetically in standard-size pamphlet cases. If you have a series of clippings on one subject, as the history of a particular institution; the genealogy of a family; the description of your park system, water works, or what not, these may be mounted on standard octave sheets in such a manner as to be made up into individual pamphlets, thus forming entities. Programmes, lecture announcements, leaflets, political campaign literature and similar ephemera can be filed in manila envelopes of a standard size, each envelope lettered as to its contents, and arranged alphabetically, chronologically or topically in pamphlet boxes. As this material grows in bulk, it can be subdivided regionally by county, city, town, village, etc., as a closer method of arrangement. If the amount of such matter is not great, this method will suffice to make it readily available. But as soon as it bulks large, a catalogue is necessary. Standard catalogue cards, guide cards and other desirable library appliances are within easy reach through the Library Bureau and similar commercial agencies. Here again the advice of your trained librarian can be enlisted. The museum exhibits should be properly labeled, and the exhibits should be frequently changed or rearranged, so as to whet the interest of visitors to the collections. Much interest can be aroused by procuring loans from persons and institutions. Teachers and pupils of the schools should be interested in these collections. This is a very good way to arouse and maintain public support.

Another function of historical societies is the publication of original materials or what is known as source-material, and monographs, essays or addresses. Competent editors are needed quite as much as indefatigable collectors. These publications should be

printed on good paper and in an attractive typographical dress. If the funds are wanting for purposes of publication, enlist the local newspapers. They will often be glad to print records or monographs in successive instalments, which can be allowed to stand in type for rearrangement and reprinting as separate pamphlets. This is by no means as difficult as it seems. A county historical society may succeed in obtaining a subsidy from the county for the publication of certain country records. It has been done many times in this country. Professor Jameson believes that the publishing activity of a society should favor documentary materials. He says: "Documentary publication is the work which counts in the long run, the work which gives permanent value to the society's volumes. Look over the volumes published by the societies a generation ago. Nearly all the articles and essays are obsolete or antiquated. Such of them as were ever worth doing will have to be done over again. But the original documents then printed are still valid, still useful. The real glory of an historical society is a series of volumes of important historical documents, original materials selected with intelligence, systematically ordered, edited ably, and with finished scholarship."[1]

A county historical society may well interest itself in promoting the preservation and careful custody of the public records of its county, cities, towns, villages or other official jurisdictions. In our State we have been singularly derelict in this matter. Our local records have suffered tremendously from fire, damp and neglect. Many of them have been lost to posterity. Many of them are yet kept in wooden buildings used for business purposes or in private houses where they are in constant danger of being burned. Many are stored in packing boxes, in lofts, cellars and in sheds with household or other rubbish. I believe that it is the State's business to supervise the care and custody of the public records throughout the State. Our historical societies can do much toward promoting this consummation so devoutly to be wished. Meanwhile they can do something in their own communities to awaken the conscience of the public officials, who too generally look upon their records from the standpoint of immediate practical use in administration. The reason why so much has been lost and is now

1. American Historical Association. *Annual Report*, 1897, pp. 58-59.

being neglected or destroyed is that there is a natural tendency of men to neglect or destroy such things as are not useful to themselves, or which for the moment seem to have passed their usefulness.

In referring to the now well-recognized duty of preserving historic sites and historic buildings, I cannot do better than quote Professor Albert Bushnell Hart,[1] who says:

"Too little attention has so far been paid to the geographical and topographical side of American history; and a prime duty of Americans is the preservation and marking of our historical sites. In foreign cities not only are famous houses carefully preserved, such as Durer's in Nuremberg and the Plantins' in Antwerp, but memorial tablets everywhere abound. In America some of the stateliest and most memorable buildings have been sacrificed, like the Hancock mansion in Boston; but at present the tendency is to preserve really handsome public and private edifices; and good people everywhere give money and time to keep these causes of civic pride before the eyes of their countrymen.

"By this time the principles which ought to govern the use of an historic building are widely recognized; it should be restored so far as possible to its condition at the time of its greatest historical importance... It should be called to the attention of the wayfarer by a suitable, permanent tablet of stone or brass; if possible, it should be kept up as a public monument or at least freely opened to public view.

"Even if the building be worthless or destroyed, the site may fitly be commemorated by a permanent inscription. We moderns are so overwhelmed with reading matter that we do not fully understand the effect of inscriptions which stand in public view—the literature of the bookless.

"Tablets upon public buildings or within them are too little regarded in this country, though senseless decorations are not uncommon.

"The time to mark the sites of buildings and the scenes of notable events, the time to note the houses and the rooms once occupied by famous men, is the present, while they can be identified. Many are already lost or disappearing."

1. *American Historical Review*, October, 1898, pp. 2-4.

I have already touched upon the idea of coöperation. As "no man liveth to himself," so no historical society can wax strong if it lives a self-centered life; if it does not coöperate with other societies having the same aspirations. In union there is strength. The opportunity for coöperation has many outlets, and I may mention only a few of them—representation by delegate or delegates at the annual conferences of American historical societies in conjunction with the meeting of the American Historical Association, and also at the meetings of the New York State Historical Association; an exchange system with other historical societies; participation in celebrations of civic, religious and other societies of the county; and moral support given to any honest plan to coördinate the historical interests of the State.

Any historical society which will undertake to do the major part of the work that has been expounded in this address, will be a signal factor in promoting patriotism in its people. The sentiment of patriotism is the heart of a republic. "We need it every day and every hour. We need it in our business; we need it in our homes; we need it in our local government; we need it in our national life. We need to value the immaterial aspect of things more, and the material less. We need more of beauty and less of utility. We need more of the ideal and less of the real. We need to value more the thoughtful man and less him who has simply accumulated bags of money."[1]

"God bless our native land!
Firm may she ever stand
Through storm and night;
When the wild tempests rave,
Ruler of winds and wave,
Do Thou our country save
By Thy great might.

"For her our prayers shall rise
To God, above the skies;
On Him we wait;
Thou who art ever nigh,
Guarding with watchful eye,
To Thee aloud we cry,
God save the State!"[2]

1. Ferree (Barr). Sentiment as a National Asset, New York, [1908].
2. John Sullivan Dwight's variation of the poem by Rev. Dr. C. T. Brooks.

THE FIRST MISSIONARIES ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN

By Rev. Thomas J. Campbell, S. J.
Editor of "America," N. Y. City.

On August 1st, 1642, a flotilla of twelve canoes containing forty people pushed off from the shore in front of the stockade at Three Rivers, and started across the wide expanse of Lac St. Pierre. The Governor, Montmagny, Champlain's illustrious successor, bade them farewell, urging them for the last time to take along with them a company of soldiers as a protection against the Iroquois who were swarming along the river. But the Indians who never fear danger till they meet it, scornfully rejected the proposal and set out unattended.

The departure of that flotilla marks a turning point in early Canadian history. On its success in reaching distant Huronia depended the existence of the missions which had been established there at the cost of so much labor and suffering by de Brébeuf and his associates. Independently of that, however, there were six or seven people, both red and white, in that remarkable company whose personalities call for a closer study than is possible in more general history. On that account we shall go back a few years in our story.

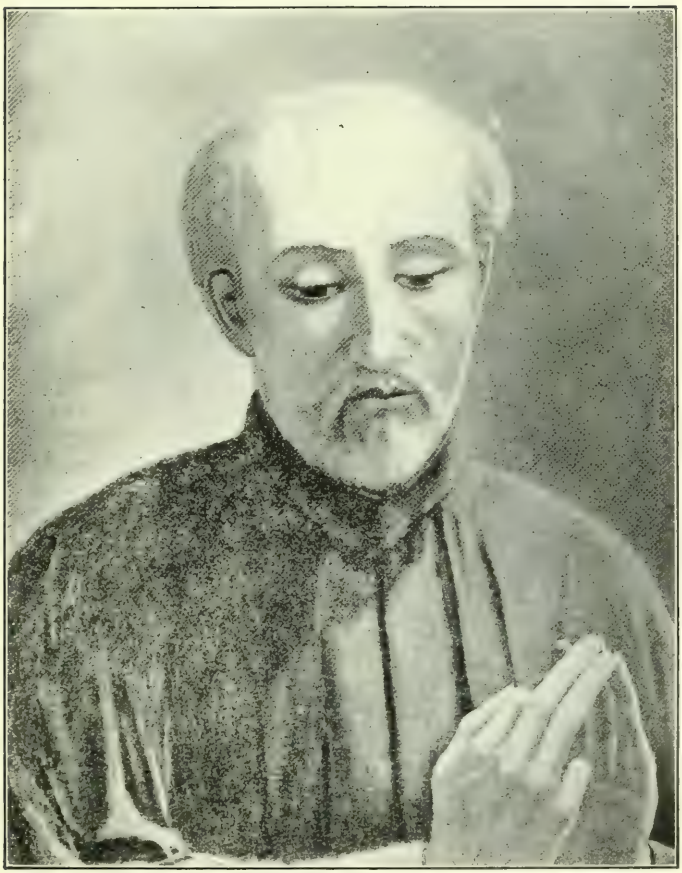
The most conspicuous among the travelers of 1642 was Isaac Jogues, who no doubt, on that August morning recalled how once before, in 1636, he had stood in front of the same stockade at Three Rivers; not then aware that the journey which he was then so eager to make up the St. Lawrence and Ottawa was to be his last. It was on that occasion that he saw his friend Father Daniel who was just then coming from Huronia with the first batch of boys who were being brought to Quebec for the initial experiment in this part of the Northern continent at educating the savages; for Eliot began his settlement at Natick only in 1651; whereas Daniel was already deep in his work on the St. Charles at Quebec in 1636, that is fifteen years previously.

When on his way to inaugurate that undertaking Daniel appeared to the throng on the shore of Three Rivers as the ideal missionary. He was in the first canoe, barefooted and bareheaded; he was worn and emaciated; his cassock was in rags, his breviary was slung by a cord around his neck, and he was plying his paddle vigorously as any redskin. He proceeded on his way to Quebec, and Jogues took his place in the canoe that was to go back to Lake Huron.

He arrived there just as the dreadful pestilence broke out among the Indians. Indeed he was accused of having brought it with him. He passed through all that horrible period, at every instant of which the missionaries expected to be massacred, and at last, when there was a lull in the storm, we find him with Father Garreau facing without fear all the terrors of the new mission which they were endeavoring to establish among the Petuns. After that he started with Raymbault for Sault Ste. Marie, and, as far as I can discover, they were the first white men to reach the rapids that rush down from Lake Superior into Lake Huron. I am aware that Nicolet is said to have preceded him, but I find no documentary evidence of Nicolet's having deflected in that direction from the journey which he made to Lake Michigan, of which he was the admitted discoverer.

Jogues spoke to the 2,000 Ojibways who met him at the straits, and promised to return to establish a mission among them, "and then," he added, "I shall go thither," pointing to the country where the headwaters of the Mississippi trickle through the flat lands of Wisconsin. He built a cross and set its face to the west. Had he been able to keep his promise, he might have anticipated Marquette in the discovery of the great river; for Marquette was then only a child in his mother's arms in France.

When the two heroes returned to Georgia Bay, Raymbault was exhausted. He had made an attempt to reach the Nippisings after returning from the Sault, but when he came back to St. Mary's on the Wye, he was in a dying condition. Some one had to take him to Quebec and incidentially to revictual the missions which for two years had been cut off from below. Jogues was chosen for the perilous journey. Three Frenchmen and twenty Huron warriors went with him, their canoes heavily freighted with the richest of peltries.



Courtesy of Ticonderoga Historical Society

FATHER ISAAC JOGUES, S. J., (1607-1646)

First White Discoverer of Lac. St. Sacrement, now Lake George, May 29, 1646

They reached Quebec, having lost only two of their canoes and part of their cargo when shooting the rapids. Raymbault, however, died on his arrival and was buried at the side of the great Champlain; but strange to say, the remains of the explorer and the priest have to this day never been found.

De Brébeuf was then at Sillery whither he had been called to recuperate after his terrible expedition among the Neutrals. During that journey from Niagara, which he visited, and was probably the first white man to see, he travelled along the shore of Lake Erie as far as Detroit. He was then made procurator of the missions while at Quebec and it was he who provisioned the flotilla of twelve canoes in which his friend, Jogues, was to make his unsuccessful attempt to reach his straying associates in the North West. The Indians loaded their boats with axes, cauldrons, glass tubes, guns, and weapons of various kinds, and the charity of the people of Quebec provided Jogues with supplies to the value of 8,000 francs, consisting chiefly of altar vessels, vestments, books and the like.

We have a minute description of the personal appearance of Father Jogues at this period of his life. It is taken from the diary of the convent which was at that time established at Sillery, —an undefended position, but no one dreamed that the Iroquois would venture so near to Quebec. As the chronicle of the hospital records with more than unusual detail a visit which Jogues made to the institution, it furnishes us with a very precious portrait of the great man.

"We were very much alarmed about our isolation at Sillery," writes the good nun who was the historian of the house, "when one morning, our new superior who had just been elected, was called to the parlor by two Jesuit Fathers. One of them was somewhat small in stature and frail in general appearance. His features were regular and delicate, his face oval and his large and well developed forehead suggested fine intellectuality, but on the whole his physiognomy denoted a character made rather to obey than to command. He wore a beard, as did most of the missionaries who were obliged to live in the woods with the savages. His soutane, which was very much worn and patched, bore the marks of many a hard journey in the forests. He kept his eyes cast

down, the result of long habits of recollection, and he had the appearance of great reserve. In fact, he appeared timid and a little awkward, so much so that a man of the world might have smiled at him. No one but his superiors would suspect the indomitable energy of this humble priest when he was acting under obedience or supernatural conviction. When Mother St. Ignace came to the grating she could not refrain from an exclamation of delight and surprise. 'What', she cried, 'it it you, Father Jogues? How happy we were to hear of your arrival at Quebec, after all the dangers you have encountered.'

"It was indeed he," continues the chronicle, "for he had returned from the Huron country on the fourteenth of July. With that sublime simplicity that characterized him in everything he did, he undertook the perilous journey at the first intimation of the superior's wish. He did not hesitate a moment to expose his life to all the risks of an expedition of over three hundred leagues, through a country swarming with Iroquois." The Father who accompanied him on this visit was de Brebeuf.

Father Jogues here started on his last voyage up the great river, taking with him two laymen, Jean Couture and René Goupil. They were both *donnés* or laymen who had devoted themselves to the service of the Jesuit Missionaries. The *donnés* were never very numerous, but they have furnished splendid examples at different times of sublime heroism, and in spite of the horrible corruption in the midst of which they were obliged to live, they were distinguished by remarkable purity of soul. Father Jerome Lalemant endeavored at one time to form them into a quasi-religious association, permitting them to wear the religious habit and to bind themselves by vows, but his arrangements were set aside by the General of the Order. Nevertheless these devoted men consented to remain with the missionaries even without any express stipulation of provision for their future. They were invaluable aids; for, not being forbidden to carry fire arms, and being unembarrassed by the strict rule of conventual life they were available for work which the lay brothers of the order could not undertake.

Before this expedition, we know very little of Jean Couture, except that he was a young man of virtuous habits, and was actuated solely by the motive of laboring as a layman for the con-

version of the aboriginees. But we may suppose that the adventurous nature of such a career appealed to him, just as the Crusades did to the knights and men at arms at an earlier period.

Goupil, who was also a *donné,* was a man of superior educaton. He was a physician by profession; but we catch only one glimpse of him before this adventure on Lac St. Pierre. That was when Father Buteux, the martyr of the St. Maurice, was groping his way through the forests in the middle of the night to bring the help of religion to a dying Indian. By his side holding a lantern and helping him in his search, was René Goupil. He had been a scholastic novice in the Society before he came to America, but his feeble health prevented him from continuing his studies.

There was only one woman among the home-returning Hurons. She was the young Theresa, the daughter of the famous Chiwatenwa, the story of whose lonely battle and death in the woods near Lake Huron forms one of the pathetic pages of the *Relations.* Indeed, Chiwatenwa's whole history is replete with heroism and romance, and his daughter was worthy of him. After her father's death, she had been sent down to the Ursuline convent at Quebec to be educated. She was the delight of the nuns and wished to be one of them and was overwhelmed with grief when her uncle called for her in 1642, to bring her back to her people. She never saw them again and her subsequent life was full of sorrow.

Her uncle, Joseph Teondechoren, was with her in the canoe. Before he became a Christian, he had been the great magician of the tribe, and from what he told the missionaries after his conversion, we obtain a better knowledge of the black art as it was practised by the Hurons than from any other source. He had led a frightfully licentious life, and was the admitted leader in the most diabolical incantations and dances of the tribe. Shortly after the death of his great brother Chiwatenwa, he presented himself at the lodge of the priests and asked for baptism. The proposal made them shudder. But he persisted, and to their surprise they found he was perfectly well instructed in the Faith. His knowledge had been almost forced on him by Chiwatenwa. Still there could be no question of trusting him, especially in his actual surroundings, but as he persisted, they at last began to take him seriously. During his instructions they succeeded in making him talk about his power as a magician.

"When I was about twenty years of age," he said, "I took a fancy to be a sorcerer, but I found that I could do very little of what I saw others doing. When I tried to handle the fire I always burned myself, but I so juggled with it that the people thought I was perfect in the art. Finally one night I had a dream, and I saw myself in a fire-dance, in which I could perform all the ceremonies without difficulty, and I heard a song which, on awakening, I found I could sing just as I had heard it in my dream. At the first public feast I sung it, and little by little I fell into a trance, and I discovered that I could carry fire in my hands and mouth, and plunge my naked arms into cauldrons of scalding water without feeling the slightest pain. In a word, I was perfect in the art, and during the twenty years I practised magic, I had sometimes three or four of those dances in a single day. Indeed, instead of burning myself, I felt cool and refreshed." He added that he could never succeed in his performances unless he had on his person the articles which he had seen in his dream. Hence he always held a preparatory dance in which he called for what he needed.

Ahasistari was another of the Christian Hurons on that expedition. There was no chief in the tribe like him and he was regarded as absolutely invincible in war. No danger appalled him. In 1641, at the head of only fifty warriors, he withstood and put to flight a body of three hundred Iroquois, and the summer before he went down to Quebec he gave a more wonderful exhibition of ferocious daring. He was out on Lake Ontario with a few braves when a party of Iroquois swooped down upon them. His companions wanted to take to flight, but he cried out, "No, no; let us attack them." And he made straight for the enemy. Naked as he was, he leaped into the largest canoe and with his tomahawk cleft the head of one of the Iroquois; and flinging the others into the lake, sprang after them, upsetting the canoe as he leaped from it. Then swimming with one hand and wielding the axe with the other, he killed every one he could reach. Even the Iroquois had never seen anything like it, and they turned their canoes and fled. Ahasistari then got into his own canoe, pursued the Indians whom he had thrown into the lake and brought them all back as prisoners to his village.

At that time he was not a Christian but had always been friendly to the missionaries and at last asked for baptism. That was in the winter of 1641. "Two days from now," he said, "I am going on the warpath. Tell me where my soul will go if I die without being baptized. If you saw my heart as clearly as does the Great Master of life, I would already be ranked among the Christians, and the fear of hell would not be in my soul when I am face to face with death. I cannot baptize myself. I can only tell sincerely what I desire. After that if I go to hell, you will be the cause of it. But in any case I shall pray to God and perhaps He will have mercy on me, for you say He is better than you."

Contrary to the common impression, the old Jesuit missionaries were very slow in admitting the neophytes to baptism. Indeed, their caution was excessive.

Such were the principal characters in the canoes which were skimming over Lac St. Pierre on August 1st, 1642. Towards evening, they beached the boats at a place opposite the islands which are clustered together in the St. Lawrence where the river that drains the Champlain Valley enters the larger stream. As far as I know, the exact place has never been determined.

In the morning, as they were pulling their canoes into the water to resume their journey, they were terrorstricken at the sight of footprints in the sand. "The Iroquois!" they said, but they were reassured by the invincible chief. "We need fear no enemy," he told them, "for if they are few, they will take to flight; if they are many, we are strong enough to rout them." A warhoop rang out on the morning air and the Iroquois were in front of them. The battle began; but amid the whirr of arrows and the whistle of bullets, Jogues, who had not yet left the shore, thought only of baptising a neophyte who was with him. When he had finished his work, he looked about him. Other shouts rent the air; another detachment of Iroquois had arrived. The Hurons, finding themselves surrounded and attacked by twice their number, fled in terror, invincible chief and all. Goupil alone, delicate and womanlike though he was, kept up the battle; but he was soon overpowered and with some others made prisoner. Jogues was still concealed in the reeds and could have escaped, for he was as fleet

as a deer, but the thought of flight never entered his head, and to the amazement of the savages, he strode forth from his covert and stood by the side of Goupil. He was scarcely there when he saw Couture, all mangled and bloody, dashing towards him from the woods with yelling Iroquois in hot pursuit. Like his red companions, he had taken to flight and was perfectly safe when he saw that the priest was not with him. He deliberately turned back, fighting his way through the crowd of Indians who attempted to bind him, killing a chief who grappled with him and wounding several braves. Following him came the invincible Ahasistari. His return meant a horrible death amid the fiendish tortures which the Iroquois were sure to visit upon such a foe, but that counted for nothing when there was a question of showing his love for Jogues. It would be hard to find a parallel for these two acts of heroic self-sacrifice, one by an Indian, and the other by a white man.

The rest of the story is known; the Iroquois fixed on the trees a record of their exploit; and then, flinging their captives into canoes, fled up the Richelieu and out into Lake Champlain; stopping wherever they met a war party to torture their victims. They crossed Lake George and continued on the trail past what is now Saratoga until they reached the village of Ossernenon on the Mohawk, a little north of the mouth of the Schoharie.

What became of these captives? The adventures of Father Jogues, which read almost like a romance, are generally known. As we have said, he was taken to the Indian village of Ossernenon on the Mohawk, about forty miles west of Albany. The identity of that place with the present Auriesville is, according to General Clarke, unquestionable. So convinced is he that he assured me he could almost put his spade on the exact spot where the stake was planted on which the head of Father Jogues was fixed.

The Iroquois at first determined to put him to death at the stake, but after torturing him at the two villages further up, namely, at Andagarron and Tionontoguen, they changed their minds and kept him a prisoner at Ossernenon. There he passed thirteen months, under-going ill-treatment and suffering which seem, as we read the account of it, to be beyond the capacity of human endurance.

While he was there, he learned of a proposed attempt to cap-

ture the fort which Montmagny had built at the mouth of the Richelieu, presumably near the spot where Jogues and his party had been captured. He found means of warning the Governor in time, with the result that the Iroquois were repulsed.

They suspected him of giving the information, and it is commonly alleged that they put him to death on that account. Even if that were so, it would have been a glory for Jogues, who was well aware that he was risking his own life, but he was quite willing to make such a sacrifice to save his countrymen from being massacred. Were he an ordinary patriot, a statute to commemorate his heroism would long since have been erected. But as a matter of fact, he was slain fully three years later, and wampum belts, mats and lodgefires had completely obliterated all feelings of ill-will, if indeed any existed.

With the aid of the Dutch, who were always kindly disposed towards the Jesuit missionaries, he escaped to Manhattan. His description of the island is embodied in the "Documentary History of the State of New York." He crossed the ocean in mid-winter in a lugger of sixty tons burthen, and appeared like one risen from the grave at the college gate of Rennes on the morning of January 6th, 1644. He was received at court by the Queen Regent, Anne of Austria, who descended from her throne to kiss his mangled hands; and then he embarked on the first vessel that left for Europe in the early spring for America, and resumed his work among the colonists who at that time were fighting fiercely with the Iroquois at the stockade of Montreal.

Peace followed, and after the great meeting at Three Rivers to arrange the treaty, Jogues was sent as the envoy of the French to the same village where he had been a captive a short time before. It was on this occasion that he gave the name of Saint Sacrament to Lake George; not because its clear waters were used subsequently for the rite of batism, as some one has said, but because he found himself sailing over the beautiful expanse on the feast of the Holy Eucharist, which Catholics call Corpus Christi.

It is noteworthy that Jogues dressed as a layman on this journey. His Algonquin friends at Three Rivers had warned him that the Iroquois were intensely hostile to the religion which he taught, for it uprooted all their tribal superstitions, and going to

them in his priestly garb would militate against the success of his mission. Consequently, it was in the attire of a layman that he presented himself to his former masters. It is the first clerical garb difficulty in the State of New York.

When he had arranged the terms of the treaty, he returned to Quebec and immediately asked to be sent back as a missionary. His superiors hesitated, for the treachery of the Iroquois was a matter of common knowledge, but at last they consented, and he set out with a few companions. This time he was dressed as a priest. He was captured near Lake George, dragged to the village with which he was so familiar, and was brained by a blow of the tomahawk. His head was severed from the trunk and fixed on a stake of the palisades; his body was cast into the Mohawk. "The screech of the bird of prey," says Bishop Kipp, "was his only requiem." This tragedy occured on the eighteenth day of October, 1646.

His beloved friend and companion, René Goupil, had been slain shortly after the arrival of the captives at Ossernenon. On September 29th, 1642, the hatchet of a savage clove his skull in twain. The body was given to the boys of the village, who dragged it to the brook at the foot of the hill where the dogs and wild beasts and birds of prey devoured it. Jogues found the bones later and buried them in the glen "until what time," he said, "we may give them Christian burial." Jogues's description of his search for the body in the woods and icy waters of the brook reads like a threnody.

Couture was more fortunate, at least in the human sense of the word. After undergoing the same tortures as Jogues and Goupil, he was adopted by the tribe, and later on, when the embassy was sent to Three Rivers to make arrangements to bury the hatchet, Father Jogues, who had meantime returned to America and was present at the conference, saw his old companion walk in as one of the Indians. Couture never returned, however, to his savage friends, but settled down at Quebec and married. A great number of Coutures, chiefly those who have settled around Lévis, claim him as their ancestor. In August, 1671, we find him in a canoe with Father Albanel trying to find a way to the North Sea. After that he disappears from view.

When Father Jogues went down to the Iroquois the second time, he did not follow the usual route but crossed over to what is now Beaver Dam,. There he found the young Indian girl, Theresa. She was as pious in her captivity as when she was living with the nuns at Quebec. She was overjoyed at seeing again her venerated spiritual guide, especially as he gave her the good tidings that he was authorized by the Canadian authorities to arrange for sending her back to her people. Her uncle, Teondechoren, had been with her till the spring of 1643, when he contrived to escape, and she had been left alone with the Iroquois.

One of the first things that Jogues did when he met the Iroquois Council, was to stipulate for her freedom, for which he made them a valuable present of wampum. They agreed to do as he asked, but did not keep their word. She had meantime married an Iroquois and that caused the matter to be deferred. Then hostilities were resumed and there was no hope left of rescuing her. In 1654, namely, eight years afterward, Father LeMoyne met her at Onondaga. "My God!" he writes, "what a sweet consolation to find so much faith in the heart of this captive Indian woman. Theresa had with her a young girl of fifteen or sixteen who had been captured among the Neutrals. She loved the poor child as her own daughter. She had instructed her in the faith and inspired her with such sentiments of piety that I was amazed when I saw them at their devotions in the cabin which they had built outside the village." Singularly enough Theresa had not baptized her adopted daughter, although in the absence of the missionaries she might have done so. LeMoyne, of course, hastened to make the girl a Christian. It was the first baptism at Onondaga.

Theresa was the happiest of women when the missionaries were established in what seemed to be a permanent manner in 1657. It was probably their presence that prevented her brutal husband from killing her because of her inability to perform some work which he had assigned her. She remained a pious and holy woman till the end of her days. We have no record of when she died.

Of the "invincible warrior," Ahasistari we find no trace. Doubtless he was put to death shortly after his arrival at Osserne-non. The horrible and prolonged agony which the execution of such a redoubtable enemy implied may be appreciated if one is brave enough to read a description by LeMercier of the torture and

death of a Seneca Indian at the hands of the Hurons in the early days of the mission.

The famous magician, Teondechoren, succeeded in making his escape from the Iroquois. He had remained for a time as the guardian of Theresa, his niece, but in the spring of 1643, he and two other Hurons went up the St. Lawrence with a war party of the Iroquois. They were trusted too much by their captors, but that misplaced confidence did not prevent the three Hurons from disappearing when the opportunity presented itself.

Teondechoren immediately went down to Quebec to tell the nuns that their former pupil, Theresa, was mindful of all the lessons of piety and virtue they had instilled into her soul, and he then started with a party up the river for home. As usual, they were careless and were caught by the Iroquois, probably at the Chaudiére, which was one of the favorite posts of attack. Teondechoren was laid low in his blood with a bullet in his shoulder. Usually, in such emergencies, the defeated Indians shift for themselves, and Teondechoren would have been left to die, but they heard him praying so fervently to God to let him see the Fathers before he died that they took him up and carried him all the way to Georgian Bay. He remained there until the Huron missions were a smoking and bloody ruin, and then came down to Quebec with the terrified and starving remnants of the once powerful tribe. He lived on the Isle d'Orleans, and a remarkable instance of chastity is recorded of him, all the more wonderful when one recalls his earlier career of debauchery and diabolism. In spite of such a proof of his virtue, his wife was insanely jealous of him. Poor Teonderchoren stood it for a year when heaven intervened. He and a party of Hurons had gone down to Tadoussac to sell their furs, when a squall struck the canoe and they all disappeared in the depths of the St. Lawrence. His wife's scoldings had come to an end.

Such were some of the people who were with Jogues in the third battle that was fought in connection with the Champlain valley. Their failure to reach their country accelerated the ruin of the mission. "Had the provisions and means of defense arrived," writes Ragueneau, "we might have held out for at least two years longer." It came about because of the temerity of the "invincible chief," Ahasistari.

THE WAR PATH.

By E. T. Gillespie, Stamford, Conn.

Let us suppose that, with historical eyes, we are looking backward to the year 1609. We are, let us further imagine, in the spacious car of some really steerable airship or perfected aeroplane, flying along, say, at an altitude of 1,000 or 1,500 feet, and with such freedom from a strained sense of insecurity, that we are able to enjoy at comfortable leisure, the diversified panorama of water and landscape spread beneath us. Because we are seated in a traveling conveyance so modern that we have still to draw upon our imagination of the possibilities of the future, to suppose it capable of the journey we desire to make, we must not forget that we are back in the year 1609, and while there are certain fixed features of the scene but little susceptible to the changes of time, the hand of man has been busy for three hundred years, transforming the surface details of the great map upon which we look down. Great cities, far-flung bridges, towns, villages, country seats, farms, orchards, broad green meadows, now diversify a landscape which at the time of our imaginary journey presented one great sweep of primeval forest from mountain top to water's edge. Steam driven palaces now traverse the broad reaches of the river, whose current three hundred years ago flowed in lonely majesty, unvexed by a keel, save when some furtive canoe ventuerd forth from the shadows of the fringing forest.

But we have only the older scene before us now, not the new. Here immediately beneath us is a broad bay, opening from the great sea whose wrinkled surface we may descry far off to the east and south. From our prodigious height it seems a glistering monster crawling to the shore from some cloud-cave beyond the farthest horizon. The bay beneath is irregular in outline—rather there are two bays joined by a narrow strait; island-

studded, forest-bordered. As we look northward—the direction in which our aerial course is laid—we see a long reach of a noble river, and this we follow, finding new surprises, new beauties, as its windings between lofty and wood-crowned banks unfold themselves to our view. Here, on the west side, we perceive a long line of tall cliffs so straight up-standing, and so regular in their order, that we are reminded of the palisados so well known to the military engineers of that time. As we advance, the river broadens, and again, in the distance, narrows where loftier hills on the west come down into the very current of the stream, as if they would fain dispute its passage. Later years shall bring nomenclators to give titles, more or less characteristic, to these salient features of the scene. This broad reach of the river shall be called by the Dutch, "Tappan Zee." Upon its shores a Washington Irving shall weave legends and romances which shall become as enduring as the mountains that look down upon the broad stream flowing at their feet. There, in that virgin valley, untouched as yet by that hand of genius which is to make her the bride of an immortal fame, shall Ichabod Crane, terror-stricken, fly from the headless horseman; as did Tam O'Shanter from the pursuing witch at the Brig o' Ayr. That frowning peak yonder shall be Donderberg, and just above it, on the opposite side of the river, is another peak which a curious legend—aided by the outline shape which Nature's careless hand had thrown to it, at that time, immeasurably remote, when these things we call "the everlasting hills" were flung and floated, wheeled and whirled to their places—shall cause to get the homely name of "Anthony's Nose," and from near its base there will some day be stretched across the stream an obstacle in the shape of booms shackled end to end, and intended to stop the enemy's advance at this particular place on the "war path." This shall be done in 1777, and it shall prove inadequate. But the next year a stronger obstacle shall be placed farther up. It shall be a chain cable, each massive link made of bar iron 2 1-2 inches square, 2 feet long, and weighing 140 pounds. The whole chain shall weigh 180 tons, carried on the backs of huge logs, pointed at each end, and held in place by a series of heavy anchors. These things are mentioned here to give emphasis to the fact that this river was indeed a "war path," and that at times it was vitally important to obstruct its passage.

Yonder rough, cliff-like promontory shall be called Stony Point, and farther north there is another that is to be West Point. These shall be heard from in the history of the "war path." They shall furnish a chapter of heroism, and a chapter of shame. Let the last be brief—

"The tempter hath
A snare for all,
And pitying tears, not scorn and wrath,
Befit his fall!"

And yonder in those distant hills, which shall be called the Catskills, that pathetic figure in the world of imagination, Rip Van Winkle, shall be lulled to sleep among his fairy attendants, by the waving branches of the trees, and shall waken, old and feeble, under the rule of President George Washington, instead of His Royal Majesty, George III. His youth and its hopes are gone, but gone, too, is the angry acrimony of his home, which made him the shiftless, reckless, hopeless—dear old dreamer that he was. And now there is a prospect that his few remaining years shall know a peace denied to him in his days of opportunity. For the faithful "Schneider," the reform shall come too late, but his unknown grave shall forever hide him from the flourish of that implacable broom.

But these things were in the unknown future, and we must leave them to return to the actual scene of 1609. The whole landscape upon which we look down bears the general aspect of an almost unbroken forest, save where the great river seems to have forced or found a passage for itself in the interspaces of the hills. No mark of civilized occupancy relieves the primeval savagery of the scene. Human forms there are. We may see them sometimes as they cross open spaces in the forest, garbed with the furs of beasts and feathers of birds. As they look they seem to be under some great excitement. They run toward the heights overlooking the river and seek vantage spots on the projecting rocks, from which the view riverward is unobstructed. We know it is not our airship which has filled them with the amazement they exhibit, for that is imaginary, and therefore invisible. There must be something at once real and astounding to account for their special wonder. We look along the stream, and *there* is the strange ob-

ject which stirs such intense excitement. It is a vessel creeping along under shortened sail, and her crew are heaving the lead almost at every ship's length. They are traversing an unknown channel and must needs be careful. In comparison with all the water craft the Indians have known, the stranger seems a monster in size. She is manned by strangely garbed beings of an unknown race, and looks so formidable that the thought of hostile attack has no place in the paralysis of their minds. This was the "Half Moon," under Henry Hudson, and thus we see her in imagination as she slowly makes her way up the unknown river. A few months before, in the same year, Champlain had entered the "war path" from the north, each explorer unconscious of the other's movements, and little dreaming that they were sowing dragon's teeth which a century and a half later were to yield a harvest of war and bloodshed.

But we have other aims in our journey than these reminiscences, and must hasten onward, still to the north. The river, with intervals of wider sections, gradually narrows, until we come to a tributary stream from the west, which shall be named the Mohawk. The blue Mohawk it was, but a sadly faded blue it has become. It has suffered from civilization, as did the red-brown peoples of the Six Nations who once lived and loved in its sylvan valley. The river beneath us rapidly shrinks in width and volume as we proceed, until its diminishing current swings sharply to the west, and we bid it farewell as we mark its further course, now hidden in the forest, now reflecting the clear sky in open meadows—

"Winding its way toward that far crest,
Like a blue vein on beauty's breast."

Our airship course, still generally northward, now takes us over some miles of territory, undulating, forest-covered, pond-dotted, brook-threaded. Soon there's a slivery sheen between long lines of hills upon whose blue crests coquettish clouds have left some of their tresses. It seems to be another great river flowing to the north, but we discover it's a land-locked lake, with numerous islands, little and great, like emerald gems in a silver setting. Officious loyalty—the desire to render subservient homage to an English Prince—shall rob this lake of its poetic Indian title, and

give it the comonplace designation of George. Upon its silvery waters, and in its bordering forests, Iroquois and Huron, Algonquin and Delaware, Adirondack and Mohawk had made merciless war upon the creatures of the chase, and sometimes upon each other. Here are the scenes which the wizard pen of Fenimore Cooper shall people with creations of his fancy—figures that shall endure when the real actors on this stage shall be, for the most part, forgotten, though among them were come personalities which neither poetry nor romance, nor history will willingly forget. That type of French chivalry in its bravest days, who brought to the wilderness of America something of the gallantry and splendor and fashion of what was then as now the gayest capital in Europe, the Marquis deMontcalm, is a figure to live in legend and story with the heroes of Cooper's fancy. Through these columnar pines and beneath the lofty roof which their intermingled tops have formed, shall stalk Leather-Stocking, filled with the priestly spirit which befits this majestic temple of Nature's own making. Here the noble form of Uncas, the last of the Mohicans shall illustrate all that we can fancy of Indian heroism and devotion to his ideals. Here Cooper's favorite hero, as Hawkeye, with his unerring "Killdeer," shall keep his vigils, and here Duncan Heyward and his lovely charges, Alice and Cora Munroe, shall be rescued from the hands of the dark Mingo chief. On yonder crest shall the generous and the brave Ten Eyck and that fairest of Cooper's feminine creations, the loyal and the loving Anneke Mordaunt, peep out from the curtain of pines to witness the memorable military pageant of July, 1758, and which set out from the spot beneath us, at the head of the lake, whereon the tragedy of Fort Wiliam Henry was enacted.

But we have our aerial journey to pursue— our "war path" to survey to the end—and may not longer linger even amid these scenes of beauty and romantic associations. We proceed down the lake, and feel that Nature was in a gracious mood when she fashioned the silvery Horicon, with its island embossments, and framed it so nobly. As we approach the northern shore, we can perceive a narrow river gleaming and sparkling through sylvan openings. This carries the eye towards the east and north, and there, in the foreground of green mountains, is another lake

stetching northward beyond even the extended horizon of our vantage point. This is already named Champlain. Samuel deChamplain has been the first European explorer to enter it, this very year of 1609. He has claimed all this region in the name of the King of France, and thus has, consciously or not, laid the historic foundation for the "war path." Already he has been in conflict with hostile Indians, who fled in amazement when they found the strangers could launch lightning bolts at them. This was at a place in the distance which is to be named Crown Point. Immediately under us we see where the connecting river enters the larger lake. In later years the French shall build a fort there, and they shall call it Carillon, because the adjacent little river tinkles like sweet bells as it hurries on its way. Later it shall be Ticonderoga, name of ominous import, name of tragic splendor in the history of the "war path." But we have our bird's-eye survey yet to complete, and must hasten onward. We traverse the long lake, and feel the same impression of its surpassing beauty which has thrilled in the breast of every visitor of sensibility, from that far day to this. As we hover above its northern narrows, we catch glimpses of a great river. We know it's a river, because we can see its majestic flow, carrying the drainage of a continent to the distant ocean.

We have now, in outline, the "war path." We have but briefly touched upon some features of its scenes and associations, with no purpose of detailed description of a country so familiar to most of us. I have, so far, aimed only at the setting of the stage, so to speak, upon which the war dramas were enacted that constitute the most historically important, and most picturesque and romantic chapters in the eighteenth century history of our country. Let us enquire, first, how these three hundred miles or so of lake and river came to be a "war path." I heard a lady at Lake George, a couple of years ago, remark something like this, "What did they come here to do their fighting for?" If she had been with us in our airship journey, she would have had the answer in part. But the other part, and an essential part it is, is found in a consideration of certain conditions of those times, when no railroads, and few roads of any sort, existed, except Indian trails through those forests, pathless but for them. In such circum-

stances, wherever Nature had placed navigable lakes and river practically in a continuous line, and leading from the strongholds of the enemy to the heart of the invaded country, such a route would become, by a natural and necessary selection, the path of invasion, and consequently the path which the defenders must hold if they can. That was why this was a "war path" in the sense in which I use the expression in this paper.

It was a most interesting historical coincidence that in the same year this which I have termed the "war path," should have been entered for the first time by two European explorers, at its opposite extermities, the one at the south and the other at the north. Champlain and his party in their Indian canoes, entering the lake to which he gave his name, had then no concept of the Dutch vessel, the "Half Moon," in which an English sea captain, Henry Hudson, was sounding and sailing his way up the great river to which he also gave his own name, and which he vaguely supposed might lead through the continent to the Oriental oceans. Little dreamed either of those men, who appeared simultaneously the one at the south and the other at the north, that they carried with them the germ-seed which in after years was to produce so bloody a harvest. And this thought leads to a brief enquiry as to the causes of the conflict commonly called the French and Indian War. These causes were general and specific. That which comes under the head of general, was the natural and inevitable hostility between two races full of inherited tradition of antagonism in the old world, and which now found themselves rivals in the colonization of the new. This antagonism, sufficiently based on national jealousies and commercial competitions, was emphasized and sharpened by the different, and at that time bitterly conflicting, religions of the two races. The French were firmly established in eastern Canada, with Quebec as their main stronghold on the St. Lawrence, and Louisburg on the Atlantic edge of the continent. They had established forts or trading places along the great lakes and down the Mississippi Valley. They had a fort of great strength, for the times, at what is now Pittsburg, near which was the scene of Braddock's defeat in 1755, an event which marked an acute stage in the war that, in varying degrees of activity, existed since the two races had begun to realize that the conditions

of an irrepressible conflict for the control of the new continent were devoloping, and must sooner or later be fought out to the bitter end. The French had always, as a rule, been the more successful of the rivals in enlisting Indian allies, and the conflict was embittered by Indian massacres at the more exposed English settlements, which rightly or wrongly, were believed to have been in many cases instigated and sometimes shared by the French. Such were the conditions, very generally stated, and such the feelings which animated the contending forces, and which brought on the events of the French and Indian War in the vicinity of Lakes George and Champlain. With the more general field of the conflict we shall not be concerned here, nor even in respect to the operations on what we have termed the "war path" can we hope to compress more in this paper than merely synoptical and superficial glimpses of events that constitute in their detail certainly the most interesting phases of that great conflict which culminated in the capture of Quebec in 1759. And with these events, as we shall see, our State, and town as it was then, were very deeply concerned and intimately associated.

In the year 1755, the same that had witnessed the defeat of Braddock at Fort Du Quesne, by far the most notable event in the field of the war we are now considering, was the defeat of the French General Dieskau by Sir William Johnson. The latter erected defensive works at a point on the Hudson which was deemed the farthest north for boat navigation. This became Fort Edward. Leaving Colonel Lyman at this post, with 500 men, Johnson advanced to the head of Lake George, and threw up entrenchments which devoloped later into Fort William Henry. While thus engaged, Dieskau's army, which had come as far south as possible, via Champlain and Wood Creek, advanced through the forest. Johnson sent a part of his force to meet the approaching enemy, but they were ambushed and driven back. The French, encouraged by this success, advanced upon Johnson's main force, only to meet a severe defeat. Their general was captured, wounded. His life was saved by Johnson, who incurred great personal risk in so doing. For the rest of the year and through the winter, both combatants busied themselves, the one in strengthening Ticonderoga, and the other in perfecting the work

at Fort William Henry. The year 1756 passed without any serious engagement on the "war path," but with many scouting adventures, some of which have furnished themes for song and story. It was during this summer that the fort at Oswego was captured by a French expedition under Montcalm.

But 1757 was a busy year on the "war path." The French came up the lake on the ice in March, and taking the fort partly by surprise, inflicted much damage upon it and loss on its garrison. They were, however, repulsed, and disappeared down the lake while a heavy snowstorm was raging. In the following August, General Monroe, with 2,600 men, was in command at Fort William Henry, and General Webb at Fort Edward with 1,600. In these circumstances Montcalm made his memorable attack, with a force of some 6,000 or 7,000, including his Indian allies. General Monroe held out bravely against the greatly superior force of his assailants, but finally was compelled to agree to a conditional surrender—the principal condition being that General Monroe and his men were to be allowed to retreat unmolested to join their comrades, the garrison at Fort Edward. The troops had hardly got into the open, clear of the fort, when they were savagely attacked by the Indian allies of the French. The latter, especially their officers, seem to have exerted themselves to stop the massacre, but were only partly successful. However that many be, several hundred of the disarmed and disorganized garrison fell victims to the fury of the savages. Such was the massacre of fell victims to the fury of the savages. Such was the massacre of Fort William Henry, a scene of slaughter never surpassed on this historic "war path," save once.

That once was the next year, in July, 1758. Here we approach the grandest, the most spectacular and the most tragic scene in the history of the "war path." The historians of the period vie with each other in word-painting of that memorable pageant when 16,000 men, regulars and provincials, in 1,200 boats, making a procession six miles from front to rear, moved in prescribed military order down the silvery lake bounded by its encircling hills. And Fenimore Cooper, whose genius loved to linger by the lakes and in the forests of this enchanted region, devotes to the scene of that day a description full of poetic feeling. Too

fair was the scene for such a tragic ending. The gallant Lord Howe, who led the van, was killed in a skirmish in the woods within an hour of his landing. This was the first of a day of disasters which would be inexplicable was not their cause manifest in the incompetency of the fussy old martinet, Abercromie, the commander in chief, whom some of his soldiers called "Mrs. Molly Crombie," in derision of his futility and worse than uselessness. Remaining in the rear he ordered assault after assault upon impregnable defenses, while his cannon lay idle on the shore. The final result was complete defeat for the assailing army, after nearly 2,000 men had been killed or wounded. Yet the year, before its close, had seen some important successes in other parts of the wide field of the war. The French had lost Louisburg, Frontenac and Fort Du Quesne, which was immediately re-christened Fort Pitt, and which has now expanded into the great city of Pittsburg.

The next year, 1759, saw the closing scenes of this long war. General Amherst, with 6,000 regulars and 5,000 provincials, advanced once more down the Lake George "war path." He found the French in full retreat from Ticonderoga. The Brave Montcalm was gone to defend a still more vital place, where Wolfe was threatening Quebec, whose capture, later in the year, ended—in fitting dramatic climax, emphasized by the death of the two chief commanders on the field of battle—the long and painful struggle.

The associations of our own locality (meaning Stamford, Connecticut, which may be taken as typical of the New England communities of the period in question) with these events were close, intimate and pathetic. There are, packed away in old, time-worn receptacles, in remote storerooms and attics, in this town today, at least a few pathetic relics of that war so long ago. There are old flintlock muskets, and rapiers, with or without scabbards. There are time-faded letters dated Lake George, or Champlain, 1755, 56, 57, 58 or 59, as the case might be, recounting in the quaint language and quainter spelling of the day, details of struggles and sufferings, and sometimes with flashes of the old militant-religious spirit of Cromwell's "Ironsides." There are powderhorns, made of the real horns of cattle, scraped and polished with elaborate care, and often with ingeniously wrought de-

vices and mottoes. I have seen some of these, and I assume there are others that I have not seen,—all of them silently but eloquently speaking of a past now so almost wholly forgotten. But we may be sure there were Stamford mothers and wives and sweethearts who, in that distant day, thrilled with hope and anxiety as they thought of their near and dear ones away off in the northern wilderness, facing a formidable foe, and waited with loving impatience for the slow and scant scraps of news which came back by toilsome journeys over rivers and through forests. It was the thought in every mind and the word on every tongue for years in this then quiet little village. The parson's Sunday prayers never omitted a mention of the men at the front, invoking for them triumph over their enemies and a safe return to their friends. There is a veritable record giving by name eighty men of Stamford, under Captain David Waterbury, who made up part of that memorable scene on Lake George in July, 1758. With them, a part of the same impressive array, was the old Highland Regiment, a battalion of which had spent four months of the previous winter in Stamford. Of the twelve commissioned officers of this battalion, five were killed or wounded in that day's disaster. Of the whole regiment, numbering over a thousand men, twenty-five officers were killed or wounded on the same fatal day. These men bore the brunt of the assault, spending, in vain, valor never surpassed on any field of strife. Their memory is preserved in the "Black Watch Memorial" building, erected within a few years in the village of Ticonderoga with funds furnished by Andrew Carnegie. The capture of Quebec by General Wolfe in 1759, was recognized throughout the colonies and everywhere as the virtual close of the war—the end of a strained anxiety which had been deeply felt, throughout the New England colonies especially. Here in Stamford, as in many other places in New England, the event was hailed as a final deliverance from oppressive apprehensions which had lasted for years. Most of us recall the thrill of patriotic satisfaction with which we heard the news of the decisive naval victory over the Spanish fleet at Santiago in 1898. A few of us, perhaps, remember the sense of joyous relief that pervaded our community at the time when the surrender of Lee's army was anounced in April, 1865. All of us

can well believe that the surrender at Yorktown, practically marking the close of the Revolutionary War, brought joy to the patriotic people of the village in that distant day. But it is, perhaps, more difficult for us to realize—because the time is so distant and the conditions have so greatly changed—that the capture of Quebec by General Wolfe in 1759, stirred to the profoundest depths the hearts of all the intelligent inhabitants of the New England colonies, and sent them spontaneously flocking to the meeting house to return thanks to God for what they regarded as a crowning Providential favor. It was wholly characteristic of the times that the principal feature of the celebrations of the great victory took the form of thanksgiving meetings in the churches.

And surely not in the Revolution did the "war path" cease to be a channel upon which the tide of conflict ebbed and flowed, or cease to have its intimate associations with the Connecticut of that period. It was a new enemy, indeed, but, like the old, it possessed Canada and the strongholds of the St. Lawrence. Again were invading flotillas to be launched on Lake Champlain, and again were hostile guns to echo from its bordering hills. What but a keen perception that the "war path" was again to be an avenue of invasion impelled Ethan Allen, with his hastily recruited Connecticut and Green Mountain Boys, to appear before Ticonderoga, as early as the month of May, 1775, and demand its surrender "in the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress?" What was it induced Benedict Arnold, the brave and brilliant and patriotic soldier, whose unhappy fate it was to become best known in history as "Arnold the Traitor"—what powerful influence stirred him and his scantily furnished little army, to brave the bitter blasts of December in the Maine woods, by super-human struggles over ice-covered rivers and through forests clogged with snow, in the desperate hope that he might capture Quebec before the enemy had time for its reinforcement? Facing only less formidable difficulties, Richard Montgomery made his way to the same point, from the west via Champlain and the St. Lawrence. The two little armies, sadly reduced in numbers by sickness, and the hardships of poor equipment in an inclement season, succeeded at last in joining forces. With a cour-

age and devotion never surpassed in the annals of war, Montgomery and Arnold prepared to try the forlorn hope. Halfway up the steep bluff, on whose top the towered Frontenac is today the most conspicuous feature of the scene, the gallant Montgomery received his death wound, and with his life was extinguished the last hope of achieving so desperate an enterprise. It was the decree of fate that the "war path" was not to be defended in that way.

General Montgomery was killed on the last day of 1775. During the preceding summer and fall, he, with General Gates, Schuyler, and Colonel Waterbury, had conducted a successful campaign along the "war path," and had defeated the enemy at several points on Lake Champlain and its northern narrows. The next year, 1776, General Arnold was entrusted with the defense of the lake from invasion sure to be made by an enemy which by that time had complete command of the St. Lawrence. The British General, Sir Guy Carleton, was ordered to invade New York, by the way of Lake Champlain, and secure the upper Hudson and Mohawk valleys. General Howe was to advance up the Hudson from New York, and the united armies were expected to crush the spirit and paralyze the resources of the patriots once for all. That the plan failed was due, above all, to the brave and energetic work done that year by General Arnold, and his second in command, General David Waterbury, of Stamford. The British commander had his own delays in preparing for the conflict. He had to carry his vessels, or some of them, overland from the St. Lawrence—among them his flagship, the "Inflexible," which we may be sure was a lighter craft than the "Inflexible" that carried the English Admiral's flag to the Hudson-Fulton celebration in New York a short time ago. Meanwhile Arnold and Waterbury were busy improvising a fleet. It was not till the month of October that the British were ready to advance up the lake with 20 vessels, carrying 50 cannon and 700 men. Arnold and Waterbury had got together 15 vessels, including the schooner "Royal Savage," carrying 40 cannon and 500 men. These figures are approximate, but they represent faithfully enough, in this necessarily rapid sketch of the event, the comparative strength of the hostile squadrons in that first naval battle between the

United States and Great Britain. The first day's fight, October 11, 1776, lasted several hours, until ended by darkness. The American squadron had inflicted severe losses upon the enemy, but, on the whole, had itself got the worst of the fighting, and had lost its principal ship, the "Royal Savage." During the night, by a singularly bold and skillful manoeuvre, it got away from its anchorage behind Valcour Island, where the close of the fight left it practically blockaded by a superior force. At daylight the British were amazed to find the American squadron had disappeared. It had gone through the enemy's fleet in the darkness, and was many miles to the southward before its movement was discovered by the hostile eyes watching it so closely. The British started in pursuit, but owing to various causes they did not catch up with the Americans till the morning of the 13th in the vicinity of Splitrock, and here the engagement was renewed, foremost in the fighting being Arnold in the "Congress," and Waterbury in the "Washington." The second day's battle lasted two hours, and ended in a victory for the British. Arnold ran the few vessels he could still control ashore, and escaped with the survivors of his crews. Waterbury surrounded by British vessels, cut off from retreat, and presented with the terrible alternatives of surrendering or seeing his helpless wounded doomed to certain death by drowning, yielded himself a prisoner. But though defeated in the final battle, the work of Arnold and Waterbury had accomplished its most vital purpose. It had saved the lake for that year. It had thwarted the British plans for a junction with their forces in the lower Hudson. Captain Mahan, the author of "Sea Power in History," and recognized on two continents as the greatest living authority on such a subject, says of the little American navy on Champlain that year: "Never did any force great or small, live to better advantage or die more gloriously." He goes further than this, indeed. He argues that the work of Arnold and Waterbury, in standing off the British that summer, and disrupting their plans, was indispensable to the American victory at Saratoga the next year, and if the latter is to be counted, as it is, among the decisive battles of history, the naval campaign on Champlain in 1776 had so intimate and necessary a relation to it, that it is clearly a part of the same memorable record. Incidentally, this

is something for Stamford people to remember, when they visit Woodland Cemetery and see there the striking and peculiar memorial stone, and its bronze inscription, beneath which were placed in recent years all that remains of General David Waterbury, the ardent patriot, the personal friend of Washington, the trusted military leader, and Stamford's ranking officer in the Revolutionary War.

Now we come to 1777 in the history of the "war path," and there we find perhaps its greatest episode in its influence upon the fortunes of the long struggle for American independence. I refer, of course, to the re-invasion of the "war path" by the army and flotilla under the command of General Burgoyne. Up the lake came he with a force that easily recaptured Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and placed so much of the "war path" again in British power. A strong detachment of Burgoyne's army, sent to capture or destroy American stores at Bennington, was bravely met and driven from their purpose by General Stark and his Green Mountain Boys. This, though it had its effect in disheartening Burgoyne, and bracing up the nerves of the patriots everywhere as far as the news traveled, did little to check the advance of the British commander along the general line of what we have termed the "war path." Farther to the south, the American forces were rallying. It was plain to all that a battle was impending whose results must have a weighty influencee upon the fortunes of the struggle. Burgoyne must be stopped and defeated before the forces set in motion by Sir William Howe in New York could join him, or the American arms must suffer perhaps a remediless disaster. The contending forces met at Saratoga, where the American army gained a victory so complete, and followed it up so ably, that Burgoyne and most of his men who had survived the fight, were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This has been well called one of the decisive battles of history. It became such especially because it was, above all other considerations and events, the one which decided the French government to appear in the field as an active ally of the American cause, and largely through that aid was the surrender of Yorktown brought about.

Once more, and for the last time, did hostile invasion enter the country by way of the "war path." After thirty-seven years,

less exactly one month from the day Arnold and Waterbury made their gallant but losing fight against a superior British squadron on Lake Champlain, the scene was reproduced upon the stage, with similar accessories, but with new actors in the leading roles. The conditions which had made Champlain an obvious route of invasion, for an enemy in control of Canada and St. Lawrence, remained practically the same as they had been in the old French and Indian, and the later Revolutionary, wars. Steam was in its infancy, and had not yet extended to the propulsion of war craft. Of railroads there were none. The long lake reaching down from the border into the heart of the enemy's country was still the chosen "war path," upon which might be transported the impedimenta of an army with ease in comparison with an advance through roadless forests. In 1814 a British army of 11,000 men under Sir George Prevost undertook the invasion of New York through the northen section of the "war path." Before this could be done, it was indispensable that the American squadron on Champlain should be driven back and destroyed. As in the naval campaign of 1776, both of the contending forces bent all their energies for months in preparing and strengthening their respective fleets. Commodore Thomas MacDonough, a young man only twenty-eight years of age, was in command of the American squadron of 14 vessels, carrying 86 guns and 882 men. The British had 16 vessels, carrying 92 guns and 937 men. MacDonough, on the 11th of September, chose a position in Plattsburg Bay, and awaited the enemy which he knew was approaching. When he saw their white sails across a low lying headland, the young American commander,—of whom Theodore Roosevelt says, "He feared his foe not at all, but his God a great deal,"—knelt for a moment, with his officers, on the quarter-deck of his flagship, the "Saratoga," and offered a frevent prayer to Heaven. Then ensued the greatest naval battle of the war—great in its two hours and a half of desperate fighting, and great in its results as a complete American victory which cleared the lake of the enemy and sent Sir George Prevost's army scurrying back to Canada, never to return. Of the young commander, whose skill and bravery and good fortune won this great fight, and secured such glorious results for his country, Roosevelt says, "He is the greatest figure in our naval history down to the time of the Civil War."

This was the last conflict on the "war path"—last but not least in its splendid results for the American cause. It was fitting that the long history of the "war path," as such, should close with a victory so nobly won and so decisive in its consequences. I have but glanced at an episode which in all its picturesque and inspiring details furnishes one of the most glorious chapters in our naval history, wherein an American boy of twenty-eight outgeneraled and outfought a heavier squadron than his own, and manned by veteran British officers and their brave and highly trained crews—men who had been deep sea sailors for years, and some of whom, doubtless, served under Nelson at Trafalgar. Inexorable time would, and even your most kind patience might, fail me, had I attempted to bring within the limits of a single address more than mere synoptical and superficial glimpses of the salient events which mark the history of the "war path." But if I have awakened in your minds a new interest in that history; if I have made more clear the chronological sequence of events, and the unparalleled shifts and changes which, in the course of time and circumstances, brought into the relation of allies those who had once been enemies and into the relation of enemies those who had once been friends; if I have recalled your attention to the unsurpassed beauty of the natural stage-setting, so to speak, whereon these various war dramas were enacted; if I have suggested the deep, direct and vital interest in forgotten days long past, which the people of this town and State had in the events on the "war path" of which I have spoken; and, finally, if I have indicated something of what imaginative literature has done to idealize the scenes and associations of that consecutive, though not unbrokenly continuous, water line of communication between New York Bay and the St. Lawrence, I shall feel that the hour which we have spent here in the relation of indifferent speaker and exceedingly courteous and patient—and I hope also interested—audience, has not been wholly unprofitable.

THE FIRST FLYING OF THE STARS AND STRIPES IN BATTLE AND THE SARATOGA CAMPAIGN.

By Charles William Burrows.
President The Burrows Brothers Co., Cleveland, Ohio.

The Flag of Our Country!
The Flag of Any Country ! !

What is the reason for the existence of a flag? Victor Hugo has remarked that there are two things holy—the FLAG, which represents military honor, and the LAW, which represents the national right, and Carlyle has remarked that "it is in and through symbols that man, consciously or unconsciously, lives, moves, and has his being."

When we find a *fact,* if we look beneath that *fact* we discover the reason for it. That degree of almost *sacred* importance that has come in the course of ages to attach itself to the flag, is the result of a quite natural development. In military usage particularly it became of extreme significance. Beneath its folds was the point where support was to be found; there were our brothers and associates; there were those who would stand shoulder to shoulder with us and fight hand in hand in our and each other's defense; while beneath the opposing ensign was to be expected only fierce, stubborn resistance.

In those days referred to in the Book of Numbers when the children of Israel were engaged in some one of the many campaigns that came to their lot, they were commanded "to pitch their tents, every man by his own camp, and every man by his own *standard* throughout their hosts."

Then, following the law common to all evolution, to all development, it speedily came about that a religious veneration attached itself to the standard, due to this importance. The Romans

regarded their standards with the most sacred reverence. It was not unusual for a Roman General to order a standard to be cast into the ranks of the enemy to add vigor to the onset of his soldiers by exciting them to recover what was to them perhaps the most sacred thing this earth possessed. The Roman soldier swore by his standard. Do you recall Cæsar's tale on that morning when he found himself under the cliffs of Albion and the Britons gathered on the beach to oppose his landing? The ships, being large, could not approach close to the shore and the soldiers hesitated to buffet the waves and attack the foe. Then the Standard Bearer of Cæsar's favorite legion, the noble Tenth, leaped down into the water, shouting out to his companions. "Jump down," he said, "my fellow soldiers, unless you wish to betray your Eagle to the enemy." And the soldiers leaped forth from that ship and from the others, and after some sharp fighting the Britons fled.

Having seen somewhat as to the cause for the existence of a flag in the sentiment of Union that exists among those gathered under an ensign, let us examine the meaning of the word "flag." Whence does it derive its peculiar meaning? There are two old Anglo-Saxon words, "flaff" and "flap," to which the word is allied. In his "Noctes Ambrosianae" Wilson says, "The snow was giving them sair 'flaffs' and dads in their faces." Again, to quote from Tom Cringle's Log, "Merely helping themselves over the top by a small 'flaff' of their wings." Anything which hangs down loosely or which is pendant from one side only, carried this idea of flack, flaff, flap, flag. We say of a tired horse that begins to droop, that he flags at his work, and this is a mere personification as it were of the physical idea of what it is to "flag." Any thin stuff supported from one end and hanging loosely by the side of a staff which upholds it may be called a flag.

It has a kindred word in "fly" and the idea is similar in development. Any light, loosely-woven material that will flaunt and fly in the breeze; this is a flag and the origin of the word is due to the fact indicated.

And now to get back to OUR FLAG—the flag of our own country. It is not given to every nation to be able to tell when first its national ensign was flown in battle, but it is possible for the date when the Stars and Stripes were thus spread abroad to be stated definitely, with the very highest degree of certainty.

And, by the way, although we are a young nation, as nations go, our ensign, which has never been a personal flag, has never represented the power of any monarch, or line, or dynasty, but has always been the ensign of a people, of a nation, is one of the oldest in the list of flags of nations today. Probably the Merchant Flag of Denmark is the oldest ensign flown by any of the nations of Europe. It is a red swallow-tail flag with a white cross, the colors of Savoy. It was adopted in the year 1219. Next in order, perhaps, was the flag of Switzerland, a red field with a white Greek cross, the colors just reversed from those appearing in the Red Cross flag. Peter the Great in 1698 adopted a St. Andrew's cross of blue upon a white ground which is today the national flag of Russia, though its Merchant Flag is different from this. But the flag of England flown today was not adopted till 1801; the French Tri-color in 1794; Italy, in 1848; the German flag representing the Empire, in 1871; and the present Standard of Spain, the Merchant flag of red and yellow horizontal bars, in 1785. The red circle on a white field, representing the sun, has been the emblem of the Emperor of Japan from earliest times, but it was not till the year 1859 that it was adopted as a national ensign; so that our own flag, adopted by the statute of June 14, 1777, which reads as follows: "Resolved, that the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes alternate red and white. That the Union be thirteen stars, white, on a blue field, to represent a new constellation," is one of the oldest flags in existence today.

We have further the keen satisfaction of connecting the incident of its first flying in battle with the one and the only one of the campaigns of the Revolutionary War which was of such supreme importance that, had its result been changed, the history of many nations would have been written along entirely different lines. The first Stars and Stripes flown in battle was flown at Fort Stanwix (Fort Schuyler) on the 3rd of August, 1777, this fort standing at the spot where is now the city of Rome, New York.

The siege of this fort by the troops of Barry St. Leger was one of the incidents of Burgoyne's Campaign, and concerning that campaign it has been wisely remarked by Lord Mahon, Sir Philip Stanhope, that "it may indeed be said that even of those great conflicts in which hundreds of thousands have been engaged and tens

of thousands have fallen, none has been more fruitful of results than this surrender of thirty-five hundred fighting men at Saratoga. It not merely changed the relations of England and the feelings of Europe towards these insurgent Colonies, but it has modified for all time to come the connection between every Colony and every Parent State. To the latter it has shown the need of moderation; to the former, far beyond any other example, the power and the possibility of victorious resistance."

Just as of all the generals in the American war the greatest and most important beyond all doubt or parallel was George Washington, so of all the events of that war the greatest and most important, in its result at least, was Saratoga. This campaign was planned in Lord Germaine's office in London and it may truthfully be said that defeat was organized in this ignoble statesman's council chamber.

Wisely, perhaps, it was thought that, if an entering wedge could be thrust between the Eastern colonies and those to the South and West, by way of the Hudson River, a great deal could be accomplished towards splitting up the union of states into parts that could be beaten separately; and had all available forces been concentrated under Howe in New York and a determined effort made with that place as a base, it would quite probably have succeeded, had Howe called forcibly for strong reinforcements. But instead it was planned in great detail, as indicated above, in Germaine's cabinet, to have Lord Howe with his forces in New York ascend the Hudson; that Burgoyne, with a picked corps of England's best troops, aided by a contingent of German mercenaries, the Brunswickers of Baron Riedesel, starting from Montreal, should penetrate southward by way of Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson; and that a third small, but very carefully selected body, under Col. Barry St. Leger, ascending the St. Lawrence, crossing Lake Ontario to Oswego and passing up the stream to the head waters of the Mohawk, where Rome is now, should descend that stream and effect a juncture with Howe and Burgoyne in the neighborhood of Albany.

In making this plan, one of the primary principles of military strategy or grand tactics, was violated. Arms may change, and methods of warfare will have to change in consequence to conform

to new conditions. The hand thrown stone of the primeval man may give place in time to the war club; this still later will be displaced by the lance; still later yet the bow with its arrow may indicate another step of advance, and in progressive stages we shall find development until we come to the missile propelled by the explosive action of gunpowder, and even then a halt will not be called, and we shall have the multiple, the rapid-fire gun, sending many shots in a short time.

But through all this evolution, certain primary, underlying principles have never changed and never will. One of the most important of these is that a force operating upon *interior* lines has a force operating upon *exterior* lines at a great disadvantage.

Napoleon once said that *one* bad general was better than *two* good ones, indicating thus the absolute necessity for undivided authority and sole responsibility. To call Lord George Germaine a good general would be a travesty, yet generals in the field three thousand miles over sea had their actions hampered throughout this campaign by a man who could neither know much of the situation nor even judge it wisely if he had known.

Howe and Burgoyne, one at Montreal and the other at New York, were separated by three hundred miles of woods and forest and hostile country. It was fifty leagues to the southwest from Montreal to Barry St. Leger's encampment at Fort Stanwix, and as far to the northwest from Howe to him, and both through hostile country. If communication were to be sent from Howe to Burgoyne, without passing through the enemy's country, it meant that fifteen hundred miles of ocean and river must be traversed and three months of time elapse before a letter could go and an answer come.

On the contrary, Arnold vigorously repelling Tryon's Raid on Norwalk and Danbury; Arnold marching to the relief of Fort Schuyler; Arnold fighting in the trenches at Saratoga with success, and Arnold holding Philadelphia after it was evacuated by the British, in spite of his wounds, all within six months of time, are examples of the possibilities of working along interior lines.

Again, Washington, from his headquarters at Morristown, New Jersey, could learn what was taking place on the upper lakes, within two days by swift messengers, and could throw a force to

the relief of Putnam stationed in the Highlands of the Hudson below West Point, in four easy marches, and in less than two weeks could place reinforcements upon the Northern Lake. In fact it may safely be said, defeat of Burgoyne's expedition was organized and deliberately planned in London. And thus the way was prepared for the success of the Americans in this campaign, and the passage of the United States, through a long term of years to be sure, into the list of the great world powers.

These are in existence today perhaps six of these. England and France alone date their supremacy in world dictation to a period more remote than 200 years ago. Russia entered the list when Peter the Great's genius at the beginning of the 18th century placed his country in that class. Germany was obliged to wait for the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 to entitle her to admission to the list. Our own country could hardly consider herself entitled to rank of that sort until after the Spanish-American War, and as for Japan, she either has entered the list since her war with Russia or will be in condition to make herself felt in all world wide controversies as soon as her finances improve.

As to *our* place, Col. Roosevelt said when President, "We have no choice, we people of the United States, as to whether we shall play a great part in the world or not. That has been determined for us by *fate*, by the march of events. All that we can decide is whether we shall play it WELL or ILL." A foreign ambassador at Washington remarked in 1901 that although he had been in the United States but a short time he had seen two different countries—The United States before the war with Spain, and the United States since the war with Spain ! ! !

It is therefore becoming that we should bestow a little attention to the examination of this campaign which wrested from England her North American colonies, save Canada. While this campaign was commenced and carried on by the British Minister's own folly and even in iniquity, yet even so the *Anglo-Saxon* can find much in connection with it in which to glory. Creasy says that an Englishman may and ought to look on the growing grandeur of America with no small degree of general sympathy and satisfaction. He should remember, as the Athenian remembers of

the Spartans, that the race is one, being of the same blood, speaking the same language, having an essential resemblance in institutions and usages and worshipping in the temples of the same God. So, though an Englishman may not, perhaps, view the progress of America without regretful thought that she once was English, and but for the folly and errors of her ministers she might be English still, he yet can have a natural pride in the success of the Anglo-Saxon.

When our flag, with its thirteen stripes and thirteen stars was established, it was the symbol of thirteen weak, struggling, agricultural communities, each preserving with a considerable degree of jealousy its own independence. National manufactures and international commerce were undreamed of; the railroad, the steamship, the telegraph, the telephone and many other inventions of the busy brain and hand of man, have made, in the last century and a third, a new planet out of the one George Washington knew. In his day wealth consisted of acres and crops; today stocks and bonds and merchandise represent a large part of the values of the community.

There have been in the past, there will be in the future, many occasions when the highest duty of a patriotic citizen was that he should be ready *to give his life* for his country. Today, there is another and different duty that confronts each man who is patriotic; it is that he shall endeavor to *live* an honest life for his country's sake. To give a *square deal* to every man we need a *square man* for every deal.

I have said that despite the prodigious amount of work done by Admiral Preble in compiling the very valuable information contained in his great work, "The Flag of the United States," there have been discovered other chronicles than those known in his day, that have a bearing on this, my topic.

Fort Schuyler, formerly Fort Stanwix, was defended by the Third New York Regiment under its colonel, Peter Gansevoort, and one of the eight companies of that regiment, the fourth, had as its captain, Abraham Swartwout, and the junior commissioned officer of the Eighth Company was Ensign William Colbreath. Each of these men kept a diary of the events of the siege. Fort Schuyler, formerly Fort Stanwix, was built in 1758, nearly twenty years earlier, and early in the spring of 1777, Gansevoort was sent to

this place to put it as speedily as possible in a good condition of repair. Later he was joined by the Lieutenant-colonel of the Regiment, Marinus Willett, with further troops, and still later Lieut.-Col. James Mellon of the Ninth Massachusetts with some two hundred men arrived to reinforce him, getting to the post the afternoon of Saturday, August second, within an hour of the time when Barry St. Leger's advance forces, thirty men under Lieut. Bird, with some Indians under Brant, reached the post. The supplies and reinforcements Mellon brought had speedily been gotten within the walls of the post before this happened.

The Swartwout Chronicles were published less than a dozen years ago in a limited edition of but 100 copies. They were most carefully and skillfully edited by Mr. Arthur James Weise of Brooklyn, New York, and I am told that Major William Merrill Swartwout of Albany expended over $10,000 in preparation of these chronicles. The Colbreath Journal has never been published, though parts of it have been quoted in several publications. In the main they support each other quite fully and unitedly they show a state of affairs which may be briefly stated about as follows:

While the news of the flag statute enactment of the 14th of June was not officially promulgated by Congress until September third, it did get abroad and was printed in the newspapers. One of these reached Albany on the 31st, the day when Lieut.-col. James Mellon's party of the Ninth Massachusetts, referred to above, was starting with his reinforcements of two hundred men up the Mohawk River to the relief of Gansevoort. They took along news of the enactment. When they arrived at the fort, about 5 o'clock Saturday afternoon, and the provisions, arms, munitions of war and other supplies were rushed into the post, the knowledge of this statute was received by the garrison.

On Sunday morning, having no ensign and being greatly interested by the news of the statute, the garrison set about the manufacture of a flag. White cloth was found in plenty. According to one rumor, it was supplied by hospital bandages and according to another, from men's shirts. Red also was available. This again, rumor has it, was supplied by the scarlet petticoat of a soldier's wife. But of blue cloth a ransacking of the garrison dis-

played no trace until Captain Abraham Swartwout sacrificed his blue military cloak to furnish the canton or field upon which the white stars could be sewn. A year later, in fact, we find him writing from Poughkeepsie to Gansevoort, still stationed at Stanwix, requesting an order on the "Commisary for clothing of the State" to supply him, according to promise, with "Eight yards of Broadcloth in lieu of my blue cloak which was used for coulours at Fort Schuyler."

In this manner the ingenuity and the patriotism of the garrison, deeply interested in learning of this flag regulation, and with a strong desire to have an ensign floating above them, supplied the flag which we described.

We are told at considerable length in the pages of the Swartwout Chronicles that it was constructed during the forenoon of Sunday; that in the afternoon a flagstaff was prepared and planted on the northeast bastion, that which was nearest to the enemy's camp, and that the finished flag, which had been so hastily constructed, being fastened to the halyard, the drummer beat the assembly, the garrison congregated in response to the summons; then as the Adjutant of the day stepped forward to read from the paper the resolution of Congress designating the insignia of the new Republic, it was hoisted to the top of the staff and for the first time in history the brilliant colors, the red, the white, and the blue of the Stars and Stripes, floated over a besieged garrison and for the first time, troops, in battle array, were gazing reverently upwards regarding it as their banner and ensign. It is further stated that a cannon was loaded and fired at the enemy, and from that day to the end of the siege, which lasted about three weeks, not only did it float above these brave defenders, but for some considerable portion of the time it had the honor of flying above five captured ensigns, taken from "*Butler's Rangers*" of ignoble fame, one of the bodies constituting Barry St. Leger's forces. "They were rather super-abundantly supplied with ensigns considering the amount of honor possessed by this very notorious corps," is the remark made by Trevelyan.

Now, if you will examine the dates with a perpetual calendar, you will find that, while Preble assigns August second as the day of the flying of the Stars and Stripes, as it was upon Sunday,

it was the *third* of August, that this happened. Preble with his painstaking research can in no sense be held responsible for ignorance of these journals which have been but recently brought to light, but the date must be changed from that assigned by him, as I have indicated.

John Fiske puts the date as August sixth and the place as Oriskany, New York, where the heroic Herkimer contested a bloody field with St. Leger's forces a few days later. In this John Fiske is clearly mistaken. Some other historians, notably certain locally interested persons of Delaware, make the claim that at Cooch's Bridge on September third (an advance skirmish this of the battle of the Brandywine) it was that the first flag was hoisted in battle. To establish this claim, they state that the flag hoisted at Fort Schuyler was not a regularly constructed ensign but improvised and hastily made up and not in accordance with proper specifications. The trouble with their claim is that if it is examined with care we are obliged to come to the conclusion that they have not done even so well as the Fort Stanwix claimants in establishing the authenticity of their claim. There is to be sure a high degree of probability that Maxwell's force, which was engaged in this skirmish at Cooch's Bridge was equipped with flags. Of this, however, we have no direct evidence or testimony, nor should we know necessarily what they were if we had. They may have been regimental flags and they may have been National flags, the Stars and Stripes—or—something else. But evidence fails to show that they were made with even so much regard to exact specification as the Fort Schuyler ensign, and *in any event the date was later by an entire month.*

There is another piece of evidence which needs to be considered in this connection, and that is the *Digby Journal*, and certain statements made therein to which I have referred earlier. This journal was edited by Hon. James Phinney Baxter of Portland, Maine. In this work it is related that Fort Anne, lying in the wilderness to the north of Albany, was captured on July 8, 1777, nearly a month, in other words, preceding the date I have given before, and that at Fort Anne the Second New Hampshire was captured with its colors. The quotation (page 234) is as follows:

"At that action the 9th took their colours, which were intended as a present to their Colonel, Lord Leganeer" (sic pro Ligonier). "They were very handsome, a flag of the United States, 13 Stripes, alternate red and white, in a blue field representing a new constellation." It is supposed by Mr. Baxter that Lieut. Digby intended to insert "with thirteen stars" after the words "thirteen stripes, alternate red and white," and before "in a blue field, representing a new constellation."

If we could accept this entry as correct it would establish the eighth of July as the date of the first flying of the Stars and Stripes in battle, but Digby's Journal was written from notes and from memory several months after the campaign was over and there are good reasons for assuming that this entry is unquestionably erroneous.

It appears that the news of the enactment of the flag statute of the 14th of June was not received at Albany until the 31st of July, in the newspaper to which I have referred earlier, and moreover it would seem highly improbable that the knowledge was carried so far to the north and so far into the woods weeks before that date.

But of still more importance as bearing upon the question, is the fact that the only American flags taken at Fort Anne, so far as we are able to determine, and what are possibly the only American regimental colors captured by the British during the entire Revolutionary War that are in existence and in the possession of the British today, are those of this Second New Hampshire Regiment. These are at present, in possession of Colonel George S. Rogers, Burgess Hill, Sussex, England, and as the pictures I show you substantiate, do not at all resemble the Stars and Stripes but are something quite different indeed.

The details of this most important campaign of Burgoyne I shall not be able to enter into this evening, without taking an entirely unreasonable amount of your time and fatiguing you beyond endurance, but certain incidents of it will occur to you promptly. For example, the dispatching of a small body like Baum's, of only five hundred men, to Bennington, where Stark was assembling with many hundreds of those stalwart New Englanders, was as someone has expressed it, "like thrusting the bare hand into a beehive in search of honey."

Suffice it to say, that as Burgoyne got deeper and deeper into the heart of the country, further and further removed from his base of supplies, with forces constantly diminishing, not only from capture and defeat but also from the necessity of detaching considerable bodies to guard his rear, hemmed in by an ever-increasing swarm of hardy militia, at last he found himself where he could not even retreat and he was obliged to sue for terms from his victorious enemy and on Saratoga Heights for the first time in the history of the world a considerable body of English regular troops, and a picked body at that, was obliged to march out and lay down its arms before an inexperienced force which they but a few weeks before had regarded with contmpt and spoken of with derision. This surrender foreshadowed the result of the war.

By historians, students of strategy and military men, it was regarded as a moral certainty that had Burgoyne's plans succeeded the aid lent by foreign nations to the struggling colonies would never have been extended, and England must in that event have been the victor in the struggle. For another generation at least the map of North America would have remained substantially as it was. Many believe, and doubtless wisely, that the desire for separation from England was a seed that was sure to grow in the minds of the people, and think that even if suppressed for a time it would have broken out again, but we may remember that on another occasion a Washington might not have been the leader of our forces. And while probably we should have won in time yet the development of the country would have been much delayed and its prosperity postponed.

That development has been going on so rapidly since the time of the Revolutionary War that whereas in 1790 the center of population of the United States lay East of Baltimore, today it is in Indiana, and it is well for us to remember that for the last 120 years that center has been moving westward at an average rate of three feet for each hour of the time, ceaselessly, endlessly, moving towards the West.

And now in closing may I narrate just one dramatic incident that connects itself with this campaign, which if studied, reveals much as to both the horrors and amenities of war, viz., that on the part of the Anglo-Saxon race and in any Anglo-Saxon success or

failure, there is always to be found a certain large-minded, noble hearted recognition of a brave and gallant enemy.

On the occasion of Burgoyne's reconnaissance in force on the seventh of October, that last great effort put forth by him, one of his brave brigadiers, the gallant Simon Frazer, who had been wounded in action before he came of age, was wounded unto death. Being taken to the rear he expressed the next day, with nearly his last breath a wish to be buried on the redoubt topping that part of the British lines where he had been stationed. Abandoned by the English it was now in full battery range of the advancing Americans, who were beginning to place their artilery to play upon Burgoyne's forces. It was, nevertheless, resolved to comply with his dying wish and interment took place under circumstances as affecting as ever marked a soldier's funeral. The burial party consisted of Burgoyne and his generals, and under the lead of Chaplain Brudeness, a stalwart coldier of the cross *militant*, the cortege slowly proceeded up the hill, attended only by members of Burgoyne's military family.

The eyes of hundreds of both armies followed the procession. The field glasses of that day were not so good as now and for some time the Americans were in ignorance of the true character of the party, and kept up a constant cannonade on the hill top. Unawed by the danger to which he was exposed as the balls that struck the hill threw the loose soil over and around him, the chaplain pronounced in an unfaltering voice the impressive funeral services of the English Church. The growing darkness added to the solemnity of the scene. Suddenly the irregular firing ceased and the solemn voice of a single cannon at measured intervals boomed along the valley and awakened the responses of the hills. It was a *minute* gun fired in honor of the gallant Frazer, by the Americans. The moment that information was received that the gathering at the redoubt was a funeral party orders were issued to withhold the cannonade and to pay military honor to the fallen foe.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

IRON ORE INDUSTRY

ON

LAKE CHAMPLAIN

These articles were originally prepared and published in a series by

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Extracts from this Paper were read at the Lake Champlain Meeting by

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for

WITHERBEE, SHERMAN & CO., Inc.

PORT HENRY, N. Y.

Who contributed the cost of their publication in these Proceedings.

THE HISTORY OF THE IRON ORE INDUSTRY ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

About two miles north of the village of Ausable Forks is a bald, barren hill, rising some four or five hundred feet above the river, and having an area of something like two hundred acres. Fifty years ago there was hardly a settler in that part of the Town of Peru now comprising the township of Black Brook, which was "set off" from the original town in 1839. The whole country was covered with a dense forest, consisting of Norway pine to a great extent, this hill, which has now such a barren and worthless appearance, having at that time upon it a light growth of the same variety of timber.

Some time previously to the year 1825 there came into this part of the town a man by the name of Zephaniah Palmer, a surveyor and an eccentric genius withal, who spent much of his time alone in the woods, in the pursuit of his calling, or perhaps prospecting for valuable tracts of land. However that may be, he "took up" large tracts in this vicinity, and in the purchase was included this insignificant looking knoll, which is now known as Palmer Hill.

Whether his compass pointed out to him with its magic finger the untold wealth which lay hidden in this unpromising hill no one ever knew. It is said that when asked what he ever expected to do with it, he was wont to reply that he "bought it for a sheep pasture." A flock of sheep would find hard work to glean their living from that hill today, but from the magic caves with which its bosom is honeycombed in all directions, there are raised, on an average, two hundred tons of ore every working day in the year, ore which averages over 50 per cent of pure iron.

In 1825 Messrs. Burts and Vanderwater purchased this and adjoining property of Platt, and the same year erected a sawmill with two gates, at the "Forks" of the river. Two or three years later the same company, reinforced by Messrs. Keese, Lapham & Co., and Caleb Barton, commenced the manufacture of iron by the "bloomer" process, having erected at the "Forks" a forge of four

fires, procuring their ore partly from "Arnold" Hill, two and one half miles north of Palmer Hill, of which we shall give a full history hereafter, and partly from Palmer Hill. But Palmer Hill ore being much leaner was not valued as highly, and but little attention was at first paid to it. At this time the ore was "separated" by what was known as the "magnet" process, by means of magnets.

In 1834 the owners sold out to a stock company composed of Reuben Sanford, Ardon Baker, James Rogers, John Fitzgerald, Richard H. Peabody, Robert B. Hazard and Calvin Cook. At this time Messrs. J. & J. Roberts were making iron at Black Brook, having commenced in 1831, hauling the greater part of the ore from Arnold Hill in the winter upon sleds. Previously to this time Mr. James Rogers had been in the mercantile business at Keeseville, from which point he moved to Clintonville, where, however, he remained but a few months.

The new company, of which Mr. James Rogers was one of the stockholders, soon began to feel the pressure of financial embarrassment. During the year 1835 the business of the Company was carried on by John Woodman as agent. In 1836 work in the mines and forges was entirely suspended for about a year, the shadow of the impending financial crash of 1837 having now settled heavily over the bright prospects and favorable auspices under which the company had been formed.

The next year the crash, which all who were in business at that time have good reason to remember, came and the control of the stock passed into the hands of J. & J. Rogers, in whose possession it has remained ever since. In March, 1837, Mr. James Rogers moved to the Forks, where he has ever since resided, while Mr. John Rogers has made Black Brook, four miles distant, his home.

Upon coming into possession of the property these men, both of whom had been trained to thorough business habits, and who were naturally possessed of indomitable perseverance, immediately set about improving their property, digging deep and laying broad the foundations of their own prosperity, together with that of the whole section of the country about them.

There are so many matters of interest in connection with these works to speak of that it is difficult to know where to begin and where to leave off, for a full history of this great enterprise would require a month's work in research and labor, and would fill a volume with interesting matter. We can, with our circumscribed limits, only take a retrospective glance at what we saw there last Monday when we took a few hours' run through the different departments.

At the Forks, every particle of the available water power is used. A large rolling mill, nail factory, foundry, forges and machine shop have been erected, and a village of 1,000 inhabitants has sprung up about these works, which for thrift, enterprise and material prosperity cannot be matched in Northern New York.

There are only four forge fires at the "Forks," but all the other branches of the business of iron manufacturing owned by the Company are located here, while at Black Brook are twelve forge fires, and at Jay, six more, making twenty-two in all.

The company also owns about fifty coal kilns of the very best construction, these being situated at and above Black Brook, far up on the slopes of the mountains, which forms the spurs of Whiteface and the Keene Mountains. The labor of about 2,000 men is necessary to carry on the immense business which is done by this powerful company.

The interest of all this business centers in that little, barren Palmer Hill, for from here and the immediate vicinity is taken every pound of ore which keeps this army of 2,000 men at work, supporting a population of probably not less than four or five thousand. As you approach the summit of this hill you come to an insignificant cluster of buildings upon the southern slope. From the buildings, which are close together, branch off lines of trestle work leading to the different shafts and inclined tracks from which the ore is raised and the water pumped.

In the mine are employed one hundred men, that being the maximum number which can work to advantage, and one ton of ore per man each day is averaged throughout the year. Entering the principal building, from which two smoke stacks arise, we see a stationary engine of 25 horse power, manufactured by Messrs. Hartwell & Winslow, of Plattsburgh, fifteen years ago, and which is still as good as new.

A large, stout iron shaft has reels upon it, upon which are coiled strong wire cables, each many hundred feet in length. At a signal from the gong, made by a workman deep down in the pit below, by means of a wire, the engineer ships a gear and unwinds the cable, letting an empty car down an incline to the bottom; another signal and he winds up another, bringing up 8,000 pounds of ore from the depths below as easily, apparently, as he unwound the other.

A huge pump works constantly by means of its ponderous connections and the engine labors heavily. Passing into another room you see a strange looking machine, the air compressor, which has just been introduced. This is a double engine with two cylinders, each having a thirty-inch stroke with twelve-inch piston. One of these is an ordinary steam cylinder, and the other is for compressing the air and driving it into the mine for working the drills.

The steam cylinder is "oscillating," being hung upon trunnions, its piston rod connecting with that of the air cylinder, which is stationary and horizontal. The oscillating cylinder is nothing new, having been used upon the English ocean steamers for many years. Its advantages are that it economizes both space and power. Steam is the motive power which works the machine and drives the twelve-inch solid piston in the air cylinder backwards and forwards, compressing the air, three volumes into one, and forcing it through iron tubes down to the bottom of the mine, working drills with lightning like rapidity hundreds of feet away. And they may as well be hundreds of yards or even hundreds of rods away, only for a slight loss in friction and increased expense for connecting pipes. In order to see what this machine is doing, you must grope down the slippery steps into the mine by the light of a lamp which you carry in your hand, following your leader closely and looking sharp for your foothold, lest you go down the angle of forty-five degrees with a slide, and get dashed to pieces on the rocks below.

The first thing that strikes you, if you have been accustomed at all to mines, is the remarkable purity of the air, none of the sulphurous odor and oppressing sensation which you have always found in such places and which causes a feeling of langour and

heaviness to the workman and gives the visitor a headache. Here you are surprised to encounter a current of pure air from below, a very perceptible current, too, which drives out all the noxious vapors arising from the burning of gunpowder in the blasts and the foul, poisonous gases which sometimes find their breeding places in these mines, which are so destructive to human life, both from inhalation and "fire-damp" explosions.

Down, down, down you go, now coming to a huge pillar fifteen or twenty feet in diameter and sixty feet high, which supports the roof and perhaps another pillar above. Now you come to a sharp turn, and suddenly the darkness into which you are plunging is dotted with dozens of stars, just as you might see them overhead in a clear, moonless night, only now you see them below instead of above, and you experience a strange, wierd sensation, and feel a strong impulse to plunge off into the abyss, from the narrow brink upon which you stand.

Listening, you hear the sharp clatter of machinery below and clambering along ledges and down more steps, following your companions, who, if you are as fortunate as we were, will be Mr. E. A. Richardson, overseer of the mine, who has been in the employ of the company over a score of years, and who combines in a pre-eminent manner three desirable qualities, courtesy, intelligence and efficiency, and Mr. Milliken, agent of the Rand & Waring Compressor Company, 21 Park Row, New York City, who has just put one of their machines into successful operation here.

And now we come to one of the air drills, very compact and weighing, together with its tripod and machinery, about one hundred and forty-five pounds. The legs of the tripods can be lengthened or shortened at pleasure and upon each leg is a weight which, altogether, increases the weight of the affair to two hundred pounds. The drills proper vary from two to three feet in length, and, together with the machinery necessary to drive them, slide up and down upon ways, both together. This machinery consists simply of a short cylinder three or four inches long, in which works a piston, the rod of which is attached to the drill. Into this cylinder the air is forced from the compressor above through rubber pipes, first on one side of the piston and then the other, the same as in the "high pressure" steam cylinder, driving the pis-

ton back and forth with great speed and power. The blow struck, however, is comparatively light, speed rather than power being aimed at.

The drill is the variety known as the "X" drill, having two cutting edges, each crossing the other in the middle at right angles. The tripod is set over the point to be drilled, a stopcock turned, and the drill commences to work upon the hard gneiss rock slowly at first, presently increasing the motion to the amazing velocity of one thousand strokes a minute, or sixteen to the second. Timing it, we saw it sink a hole thirty-two inches in depth in eight minutes. No extraordinary haste was used, and the drill was changed once in the time.

These drills can be used at any angle, down, up or sideways, and constitute a most astonishingly efficient auxiliary to the business of mining. The miners here are rapidly becoming adepts in the use of these drills, and Mr. Milliken, who, by the way, has, since he came here, made some very important modifications in the drills and tripods, expressing himself as being well pleased at the readiness with which the men acquire a practical knowledge of their working. An impression which has gone out that the introduction of these air drills will enable mining companies to dispense with a large proportion of their help is, we believe, erroneous. We have no doubt, on the contrary, that the necessity of a much larger force throughout all the different branches of the business will follow the introduction of these machines.

One of the greatest difficulties which manufacturers of air compressors have to contend with is the tendency of the air to develop its latent heat under the heavy pressure to which it is subjected, causing expansion and consequently great additional resistance to the machinery. This difficulty has been almost entirely surmounted by the Rand & Waring Company by incasing the air cylinder in another, the space between being kept filled by a current of cold water, which is forced through it by a compact little pump.

The principle of transmitting power by means of compressed air was discovered by Dr. Dennis Papin, an eminent French engineer, nearly a century and a half ago, and he proposed to use it for this very purpose in coal mines and also to pump the water

out; and we may say here what Mr. Milliken told us, that it can be used for pumping to much better advantage than the clumsy apparatus now in vogue. But Dr. Papin, like many other pioneers in great enterprises, was doomed on account of some slight defect in his machine, to die without a sight of the result which he worked so faithfully for. About a century later a similar machine was constructed in Wales, to create a blast for an iron foundry situated a mile and half from the waterfall which was to serve as the motive power.

But this also failed, and it was not until 1861 that compressed air was successfully used as a motive power, when that stupendous triumph of modern engineering, the Mont Cenis Tunnel, was pushed through the Alps by its aid. Since then it has been successfully applied to the accomplishment of a work which the whole Yankee nation of Massachusetts had given up, the Hoosac Tunnel, while, by the same potent agency, that bugbear to all East River navigators, the terrible ledge known as Hell Gate, has now a four and a half acre excavation in its bowels, and before many months more will have passed, a nitro glycerine earthquake will blow it into fragments.

The advantages of these machines are such that their general introduction, wherever there are mines or tunnels to be worked, or any other underground work capable of being performed by machinery, is only a question of time, and a very short time, too, as we believe. The thoroughness with which they perform the work of ventilation is of itself sufficient to recommend them to general use, all other things being equal. But here none of the "other things" are equal, every "thing" being in favor of the compressors; and their power is such that prejudice can stand but a short time before them.

We recollect well of being in Elizabethport, N. J., over twenty years ago while the immense docks were being built there for the coal trade. A great amount of pile driving was necessary and, up to that time, it had been all done by hand. Two workmen would wind the heavy weight up slowly to the top of the "tower" taking from three to five minutes in the operation. Then the weight would drop and the men would take a good rest before another blow could be struck upon the top of the pile, and altogether it was a slow

process. By and by there came along an eastern contractor with a little "pocket engine," and when he set it up we heard the jeers of the "old heads" and saw the looks of contempt with which they viewed the Yankee Lunatic and his little engine. But he fired up and commenced operations, and the first time that weight went up the ways like an arrow shot from a bow, a changed expression came over their countenances, and they saw that their old hand machines were doomed.

And so it will be with these drills, for they will surely supplant hand drilling, but, as we said before, we believe that instead of having the effect to decrease the number of men needed, they will greatly increase it. For instance, in this mine, only one hundred men can be worked to advantage on account of limited room, and each man raises his ton of ore per day, but when these drills come unto use there will be the same amount of room as before and it requires two men at each drill, just as at hand drilling, but then instead of each man averaging one ton per day he will average five and perhaps ten tons per day. What an increased impetus will this give throughout all the departments below, at the coal kilns, the separator, the forges, the rolling mills, nail factories and machine shops.

Powder is used in the blasts, about five or six inches being put in each thirty inch hole, and the blast is exploded by electricity. A wire is laid from the charge to some point of safety, the distance making no difference, the wire is attached to the little battery, which resembles a common circular tape line case, the crank is then turned rapidly and in a moment the long echoing peal of subterranean thunder answers back. In wet portions of the mine where powder is not available, Beach's compound is used, which is said to be the safest explosive yet discovered, safer than "dualine" and fully as effective. As for nitro-glycerine, pure and simple, the miners will have nothing to do with it, and giant powder, together with all other compounds of which nitro-glycerine is the base, shares the prejudice which exists against it. It is claimed that Beach's Compound contains no nitro-glycerine.

Accidents are very rare about this mine, and not a life has been lost or a man seriously injured for years, through the fault of the management of the company. When a cable becomes weak-

ened, long before it has approximated toward its breaking point, it is thrown one side and the same care to guard against accidents is taken throughout.

About one mile northeast of Palmer Hill is Jackson Hill, where another mine is being developed with excellent prospects of success. This had been worked years ago, but was subsequently abandoned, until about five years since. There are three separate veins of ore here, all of which have been partially opened and one of which shows signs of extraordinary richness. A shaft has been sunk also on a tract recently purchased by the company to the southward of Palmer Hill, the ore from which was being tried for the first time the day we were there.

After the ore is raised to the surface it is next taken to the separator, a mile and a half on the way to the village. Here are several large pits resembling cellars, which have been built upon sloping ground and "stoned up" on three sides only, the side lacking the wall being upon a level with the ground below, while the top of the opposite wall is also level with the ground upon that side, this arrangement being for the convenience of "dumping" wood and ore.

A large quantity of wood is placed in each of these pits, and upon it is "dumped" the crude ore in fragments as it comes from the mine, weighing from an ounce up to fifty or even a hundred pounds. Fire is then set to the wood which burns out slowly, thoroughly heating the ore. This process is called roasting and its object is, as the foreman, Mr. C. V. Pierce, by the way, we forgot to say that when you leave Palmer Hill you emerge from the jurisdiction of Mr. Richardson, and here at the separator Mr. Pierce reigns supreme, as he said, the object of roasting is to make it "render" under the hammer.

Now at the risk of telling what probably four-fifths of those who are interested in this article sufficiently to read it, know already, we will say that the object of all the operations through which the ore goes after leaving the mine is to separate the rock, of which there is almost as much by weight as there is of the iron, and much more by bulk, from the pure iron and this "roasting" is the first step in the process. The heat simply makes the rock friable, so that it will crumble up and let go its hold on the iron. After

being roasted it is placed in oblong iron boxes, the bottoms of which are grates. Into each of these boxes there fall eight ponderous hammers or stampers, one after another, in moderately quick succession, which breaks the rocks of ore finer and finer, as you would pound salt in a mortar, and as it becomes sufficiently fine it drops through the grated or sieved bottom into a tank of water through which there runs a strong current. There is considerable hocus-pocus connected with this part of the operation, which however easy to see, is somewhat difficult to describe, but it is sufficient to say that the particles of rock being lighter are naturally held by the water in solution, mechanical not chemical, while the ore being heavier settles to the bottom. And there is no rest for it until this separation has become nearly perfect, as nearly as possible by this process. The rock which has been reduced nearly to a powder, together with the earthly impurities, has been sent away into the little stream, upon the bank of which the separator stands, and the ore is raised by means of tin buckets attached to a belt, and thrown over into a little room by itself, ready to be shoveled into wagons again, preparatory to being taken to the forge. At this separator the work is all done by the current of water instead of by hand labor practised in nearly all other separators where it is shoveled over and over upon sieves. This style of separating is the invention of Mr. Peter Tremblay, of Clayburgh. Now the Palmer ore being very fine in its texture, there has always been considerable loss, the minute particles of ore being carried by force of the current off into the stream along with the rest of the impurities and the banks and bed of the Ausable River for many miles below, glisten with these little particles like diamonds.

It is believed that large quantities have, in years past, gone into Lake Champlain sixteen miles below, and that the black sand, a little hour-glass shaped box of which twenty years ago was found upon every accountant's and business man's desk, for drying the ink upon the written page, instead of by botting pads, as is now customary, that this sand, of which there is a large deposit near the Ausable River, is nothing more nor less than the wasting of this separator.

It is estimated that the loss through this channel has, of late years, reached the enormous quantity of 1,200 tons per year; and

it seems that it never occurred to any one to interrupt and stop this waste until about three years ago, when two Englishmen, who were strolling through this region, proposed to save the ore which was running away on shares. The offer was accepted and they went to work and soon got as rich as they cared to be. The company has now arranged various devices by which, it is believed, that nearly all waste is prevented.

From here the ore goes to the bloomer forges for which it has, in fact, been all the while in process of preparation. In the manufacture of pig iron in "blast furnaces" no separating is required, but the rocks are thrown into a hugh, upright cylinder, just as they come from the mine and melted, the rocks running off in slag and the iron, by its own gravity, going away by itself in a molton stream. In that process hard coal can be used while in the "bloomer" forges charcoal is necessary.

The charcoal and the ore then must be got together and as it is easier to transport the ore both ways than the charcoal one, the great bulk of it is hauled back toward the mountains where the wood is more plenty.

At the forge the fire which is kept alive by an air blast, required constant attention by the bloomer in scattering on the ore and stirring it up, long practice being necessary to render the workmen adepts at the business, enabling them to avoid waste of either fuel or iron. As the ore melts it naturally runs together into the "bloom," what little impurities there are remaining, going along with it, and at regular intervals of about three hours the mass is taken from the fire and placed under the five ton trip hammer, whose ponderous blows crush out all the "slag" or melted rock, leaving only the pure iron ready for the rolling mill. The machinery of the forge consists principally of the bellows, or blowers, and we cannot refrain from giving a brief description of the one in use here, which was devised by the Rogers Iron Company's master mechanic, Mr. M. J. Obrist, and which is believed to be the best one extant. It consists of three horizontal cylinders, each thirty-one inches in diameter, and having a forty inch stroke. The cylinders oscillate upon trunnions and are driven by an upright shaft with a crank, to which is attached each of the three piston rods. The machine is as simple as it can be and in its simplicity

and power lies its superiority. A similar blower is running at Black Brook, which we believe was manufactured by Messrs. Hartwell & Meyers, of Plattsburgh.

From the forge about one-fourth of the iron ore goes to the rolling mills and nail machines, of which there are forty-eight, having a capacity of producing 80,000 kegs of nails annually, while the other three-fourths go to the outside markets.

The consumption of coal and wood in this business is immense, 250 to 300 bushels of coal are consumed in making a ton of iron, and the amount of iron turned out at all these forges being about fifty tons daily, it will be seen that no less than 15,000 bushels of coal are consumed daily, or 4,500,000 annually.

There is no doubt that the hills and mountains all up and down the Ausable as well as the Saranac River teem with rich ore, for the indications of it are plentiful in all directions, upon both sides of the river and it is thought by those best able to judge that the supply is inexhaustable.

These rich mines form a solid basis for the commercial prosperity of this section of the country, for when the lumbering business is a thing of the past, and lumber becomes in consequence less and less used, then the iron age will dawn again, or rather, will burst into its noontide, for it has already dawned, and houses, bridges, fences, furniture, carriages, ships, etc., etc., will be constructed of this material, which will neither burn nor rot. And the iron mines are more valuable than gold, adding to the material prosperity of the country by just so much as iron enters more extensively into the composition of all manufactured articles than gold. When a ton of gold is mined, there is an end of it, it goes into the vaults to be locked up; it makes the rich richer and the poor poorer, but with iron the case is far different; for it goes ceaselessly onward through hundreds of different branches of manufacture, scattering blessings among the thousands of industrious mechanics.

Years ago, fifteen and more, the reputation of the workmen in these mines and mills was about as bad as bad could be. But time has wrought a most wonderful change and now it will be a hard matter to find the same number of workmen as are gathered here, possessing their average intelligence; and the stolid brutish expression which is found upon the countenances

of many of the workmen in similar localities is almost entirely wanting here. The men are, many of them, well educated, and are ready to give you an intelligent answer to any question you ask them. Employers and employees are upon the best of terms, labor and capital moves along smoothly, without a jar, and no "Unions" exist or are necessary to extort the rights of labor from capital.

The natural scenery in the vicinity of Ausable Forks is very fine, situated as it is at the double gateway to the Adirondacks, there being a choice of two routes, up the East or West branch of the river.

Looking up the latter, the most prominent feature of the landscape is Whiteface Mountain, the grandest and most beautiful of all the Adirondacks, which seems almost to overshadow the village, so proudly does it tower up in its lonely grandeur, cut off from its giant comrades, which lie farther to the southward. This mountain is flanked upon three sides by sharp spurs, which add greatly to the gracefulness and beauty of its outline, those upon the Franklin Falls and Wilimgton sides showing softly undulating outlines from this point.

From the summit of Palmer Hill, you obtain a splendid view of the whole double valley of the Ausable above; Keene Flats, flanked by its mountains upon the left, while upon the right is the finest distant view of the Wilmington Notch, at the base of Whiteface, we have ever seen; and in the distance the outlines of Marcy, the Giant of the Valley, Nipple Top, and Dix's Peak are cut sharply upon the horizon. In the northeast, Mansfield and Camel's Hump, of the Green Mountain range in Vermont are visible, and, spread out at your feet below, lies the whole Ausable Valley, together with the green slopes that hem it in on either side. Altogether the view is worth a long journey and a much harder climb than it costs.

A prosperous community has grown up as the result of the enterprise of Messrs. James and John Rogers. Every workman sympathizes with the deep afflictions which they and their families have passed through, and their names and memories will be handed down to later generations as the benefactors of the public, to whom, more than all others, is due the prosperity of this portion of the lovely Ausable Valley.

PORT HENRY IRON WORKS.

(Note: When such a mass of interesting matter presents itself as is met with in this attempt to treat such a subject as that of this paper, in the small space allotted to us, the difficulty is in selecting as well as rejecting judiciously, and the writer realizes how far short he has fallen in this case of anything like delineation. For much of the statistical information embodied here, we are indebted to Hon. W. C. Watson's History of Essex County, one of the most valuable contributions to our local historical literature, and one which, now that the illimitable resources of the region of which it treats are becoming better understood, will no doubt be more eagerly sought after than ever).

The region in the vicinity of Port Henry is replete with interesting historical associations connected with the early history of our country. Previously to the year 1731 the waters of Lake Champlain and the shores which hem them in were known to none but savage tribes and constituted a sort of neutral ground between the Iroquois and their allies who comprised the Six Nations, and the St. Lawrence tribes.

This middle ground was probably a bloody field and the fact that the first white man who ever navigated these waters, Samuel De Champlain, was at the time with a war party, may be taken as an indication of the scenes of blood which had been enacted here in those remote prehistoric times over which hover the dim mists of tradition, so thickly as to render the task of distinguishing facts from fancies exceedingly difficult.

It will be recollected that the party of St. Lawrence Indians with whom and under whose protection Champlain was traveling, encountered a horde of hostile Iroquois "on the 29th of the month of July, 1609, about ten o'clock at night, "at a point of a cape which puts into the Lake on the West side." We are aware that modern historians have located the scene of that first battle in which the warriors of the powerful Six Nations were made to feel the superior prowess of their white foes, at Ticonderoga, and that upon Champlain's map, it is marked as being between Lake George and Crown Point, but that description, "a point of a cape," etc., corresponds so exactly to the appearance of Crown Point that one

finds it hard to get it out of his mind that right across Bulwagga Bay, looking from the beautiful village of Port Henry, upon Crown Point, where the remains of the first fort built on the Lake are still plainly visible, was the very spot where Champlain marched ashore with his Indian allies, his arquebuse loaded, as he naively states, "with four balls," and killed three chiefs at the very first shot! That was probably the first explosion of gunpowder the Iroquois had ever heard and it must have impressed most effectually upon the one hundred and eighty-seven survivors the superiority of civilization over barbarism.

But whether this was the scene of that conflict or not, we know that about the year 1731, at which early period both the French and English were striving to gain footholds in advance of each other in the new world, and especially upon Lake Champlain, the importance of which it is evident was seen from the first, from the name given it, Caniadore Guarante, that is, the lake that is the gate of the country.

The French evidently claimed possession by the right of discovery and in 1731 de Beauharnois was ordered to commence the erection of a fort upon Crown Point. The fort was completed in 1750 and was named St. Frederick.

During the imbroglio which followed between the French and the English colonists in Massachusetts, Vermont and New York, a man by the name of Alexander McKenzie was taken prisoner by the French and Indians and brought to the Fort.

This is a family tradition among the descendants of McKenzie, but history informs us that on the twenty-ninth of October, 1765, fifteen years later, the same Alexander McKenzie, sergeant in the 40th regiment received from a grateful State for his military services two patents, one of one hundred acres and another of fifty. This land was located in what is now the Town of Moriah, just south of the suburb of Port Henry known as Cedar Point.

Here he settled after serving his country faithfully, and in 1785 his wife presented him with a son, the first white child born within the present limits of the Town of Moriah. This son, Alexander, is yet living and recollects with great distinctness many incidents of that early time. The shores of Bulwagga Bay and slopes of the mountain above, which bears the same name, was then

a great resort for Indian hunters, and in passing in and out of the bay they would usually call at McKenzie's cabin. Both moose and deer were found here in abundance. Upon one occasion an Indian had left his birch bark canoe in charge of Mrs. McKenzie, while he went upon a hunting trip around the shores of the bay, her husband being absent, and soon afterward another Indian came along and was about to take the canoe when the intreped woman ordered him to desist. The Indian enraged brandished his tomahawk about her head but she flinched not and finally carried her point, and the Indian slunk away into the forest. This same woman, upon the urgent demand of some stern necessity, once paddled a canoe all the way from her house to St. Johns, Canada, over a hundred miles and back. The same cabin which McKenzie built, or a portion of it, is standing yet at Cedar Point near the new furnace.

On the fifth of July, 1765, the same year that the patent was conveyed to McKenzie, another was granted to one, Benjamin Porter, sergeant in 27th regiment, for two hundred acres, where the village of Port Henry now stands, and about the same time two hundred acres more were conveyed to Joseph Franklin, also sergeant in the 27th regiment, lying between the McKenzie and Porter tracts.

These three men then were the original owners of this valuable water front, destined to become perhaps the most valuable one of the same extent in Essex County.

Benjamin Porter took two hundred acres, the northern boundary of which was probably the hill which rises abruptly, directly north of the Cheever furnace, and including the site of the village of Port Henry; Joseph Franklin the next two hundred acres south, embracing Cedar Point, and Alexander McKenzie the next one hundred and fifty acres south of that. We believe there is no record of Porter or Franklin having occupied their farms for any considerable length of time, but McKenzie made of his tract a home, and his example constitutes one of the rare instances in which one of the original grantees actually occupied the lands which had been conveyed to them by the State, and handed them down to their descendants. Could these men revisit these scenes now after a lapse of a little over a century, how would they be astonished at the transformation which has taken place!

The early settlers of the western shores of the lake came principally from New England and in 1788 a new county was formed in this region, embracing what is now Essex, Clinton and the eastern portion of Franklin. This country was named Clinton and it was divided into four towns, Champlain, Plattsburgh, Crown Point and Willsboro. The town of Crown Point comprised the present Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Moriah, Westport, Elizabethtown, Schroon, Minerva, Newcomb, North Hudson and a part of Keene. The territory of this township covered an area of about nine hundred square miles.

Plattsburgh was the shire town of this county of Clinton, and the scattering inhabitants upon the outskirts were obliged to travel seventy miles to attend courts, and the other transactions pertaining to country business and it was not until 1799 that the new division was effected by which Essex County was organized with its present limits.

At the time to which the memory of Alexander McKenzie, son of the original settler, extends, there was but one other settler in the present limits of Moriah. Upon the brook which now empties into the Lake near the Cheever furnace, a grist mill had been erected by an Albany man, and the miller, whose name was Rowley, was McKenzie's only neighbor.

The stream at this time, however, passed to the northward of where it now empties, but has since been turned by the Bay State Iron Company, in their work of "filling in" and making new land for dockage, etc. This gristmill was built some time previously to the Revolution, and the early settlers came here from a long distance up and down the lake, as well as from Vermont, with their grists.

The presence of large quantities of iron within the limits of the Town of Moriah was indicated during the earliest surveys by the attraction of the compass, and especially was this the case in the western part of the town in 1810, when what was known as the "Kellogg Survey" was being made, and so strong was this evidence that lots Nos. 21, 23, 24 and 25 received the name of the "Iron Ore Tract."

Fine specimens of ore were also found at that time, but no move toward opening the mines was made until fourteen years later

in 1824, when Harry Sherman and Elijah Bishop made a bargain with Mr. D. E. Sandford, the owner of lot 25 where the first ore had been discovered, agreeing to associate themselves with him in developing the mine, each agreeing to pay him one hundred dollars for a fourth interest in the property. The very spot where the first iron was discovered in this Sandford bed was pointed out to us by Mr. Tefft, the overseer of the mines of Witherbee, Sherman & Company.

At the Cheever bed ore had been discovered as early as 1804, but not much progress had been made toward raising it until 1821, when Charles Fisher obtained a lease of it, paying an annual rent of ten tons of bloom iron. He could not, however, have pushed his enterprise with much vigor, for a gentleman now living in Port Henry told us that he recollected in 1826 the shaft had only been sunk about six feet below the surface, and that the ore was raised by sleds being backed down into the shaft. The first blast furnace was erected at Port Henry in 1822 by Major Jonas Dalliba in company with Hon. John D. Dickenson of Troy. The ore from this same Cheever bed was used, and also that from a mine in Vermont which was hauled across the lake on ice, as well as from the Port Henry ore bed about a mile west of the Cheever.

But the main interest in connection with these works centers at the village of Mineville, which has sprung up about the extention beds before spoken of seven miles west of the lake. Messrs. Sherman, Bishop and Sandford after their agreement to work the Sandford bed on shares, seem to have prosecuted their designs steadily, the bulk of the ore being hauled to Ticonderoga where there was a bloom forge.

In 1834 a quantity of this ore was tried in the blast furnace at Port Henry, but owing to some mismanagement, probably with the fluxes used, the result was unsatisfactory, but two years later, some ore of leaner quantity from the same locality was used with success, and it was soon found that mixed with the Cheever ore it made excellent iron.

In 1846 this Sandford ore bed came into the possession of John A. Lee, George Sherman and Eliphalet Hall, who paid $4500 for it, and a little later in the same year, Mr. Hall sold out to A. J.

Rosseau of Troy, who in 1849 sold to Messrs. S. H. and J. G. Witherbee.

In 1862 Lee retired and since that time the business has been conducted by the Witherbee, Sherman & Company. Since then Port Henry Ore Company has been incorporated, consisting of the above firm, together with heavy iron men in Troy and Poughkeepsie. The original owner of this tract, Deacon Sandford, died in Moriah week before last.

Mr. L. W. McKenzie, son of Alexander McKenzie, who lives with him, and grandson of the original settler at Cedar Point, told us that within his recollection this land, which is completely underlaid by rich beds of iron, could have been purchased for one shilling an acre, not being rated as farming land on account of its broken surface.

Previously to the time that Lee, Sherman & Hall came in possession, in 1848, the total amount of iron which these mines had yielded was only six thousand tons.

Soon after the Witherbees came in possession it seems that decided steps were taken toward the development of this property. Other beds were opened and found to be equally rich with the Sandford. These beds seem to cluster about a small eminence known as Barton Hill, which rises abruptly to the northward of Mineville, the latter being situated at an elevation of 1400 feet above Lake Champlain.

In 1851 the company built a plank road from Port Henry to the mines, but the rapid increase of the business under the vigorous management of the proprietors soon rendered this slow means of transportation inadequate to their growing wants, and a few years later a railroad was projected; THE LAKE CHAMPLAIN AND MORIAH RAILROAD, which was completed in 1869. This road is seven miles in length and its western terminus at Mineville is 1400 feet above its eastern terminus at Port Henry.

Persons who are unaccustomed to roads with a grade exceeding eighty feet to the mile, will find it difficult to understand how a grade of 200 feet is surmounted, and it would indeed be an impossibility with ordinary locomotives. Here the engines are very heavy, the largest weighing about forty tons, while the driving wheels are very small. Then there are three "Y's" in the track;

first the engine starts behind the train and pushes it a mile or so up the side of the hill, "slabbing" it to the left, running out over a switch, which, on being shifted, the engine then pulls the train up, slabbing the hill to the right, to another switch, then backing up to the left to another, and from that the last ascent is reached. Of course, the heaviest of the freighting is down, rather than up, but large quantities of supplies and coal have to be transported to the mines from the dock. There are six engines belonging to the seven miles of road, and the business done for the year ending August 31, was as follows:

Number of Trips Made.....	2,618
Number of Cars Transported.....	47,827
Number of Tons of Frt.....	328,514
Freight Earnings .....|	$203,529
Number of Hands Employed.....	112

Whose pay roll amounts to from $6,000 to $7,000 annually. Passenger earnings since last October, previously to which no passenger trains were run, $1,693.29.

Since the completion of this railroad the development of these rich mines has been carried forward at a very rapid rate. The mines are all situated closely adjoining each other, around Barton Hill, except what is known as "New Bed Pure," half a mile west of the old bed, and Fisher Hill mine, two miles north.

Those around Barton Hill are probably all parts of the same mine, which will eventually form one excavation underground, as work can now be distinctly heard from some of the excavations to the adjacent ones. The ore from these beds averages in richness about fifty-five per cent, while that from the New Bed Pure ranges as high as seventy-two per cent, the latter being what is known as "shot" ore.

Of these mines the Port Henry Iron Ore Company owns all those situated upon lots 21, 23, and the east half of 24, while Witherbee, Sherman & Company own the remainder, with the exception of a few small beds belonging to different parties. Each of these two companies have at Mineville a stationary engine of 130 horse-power with which their hoisting, pumping, etc., etc., are accomplished, together with repair shops.

From twelve to fourteen hundred miners are employed here constantly, and the rock underneath is honeycombed in all directions. Quite a little city has sprung up and all the evidences of thrift and prosperity are plainly indicated, as could hardly be otherwise when it is considered that the net daily earnings of the inhabitants cannot fall short of $3,000.

On an average, there was passing down over the railroad from these mines, each day, previously to the late strike, no less than fourteen hundred tons of ore, and now that work is again resumed we presume that the amount will soon come up to that figure again, if it has not already reached it. During the two weeks which the works lay idle, not a moment was lost, but necessary repairs upon machinery, pumps, stairways, etc., were pushed energetically forward.

Huge pits yawn in every direction about these works, at the bottom of which, around the outside, can be seen from the banks narrow arches in the solid rock or ore, leading to the excavations underground. Near the engine house of the Port Henry Iron Ore Company is the original Sandford pit, in which a pillar gave way a few years ago, letting a large area of solid rock and earth down from the surface to the depths below. It is no place for drunken men or those that walk in darkness about here, for you cannot go in any direction without coming very soon to one of these dangerous pits.

From the engine houses of either company long lines of trestle work radiate in all directions to the different shafts, supporting the beams which serve as connecting rods between the engines and the pumps, these beams moving backward and forward unceasingly.

But a small proportion of the ore produced at these mines is melted in this vicinity, probably not one-twentieth part. At Fletcherville, two miles north from Mineville, there is a charcoal blast furnace, owned by the companies operating the mines, but there are no bloomer forges in the vicinity, and when the work of mining is done the ore is sent away without being separated. Contrasting this with the works of Messrs. J. & J. Rogers, at Ausable Forks, where the ore is all converted into iron on the spot, and where one hundred tons of ore daily, the product of the Rogers'

share of the Palmer Hill mine, afford occupation to nearly 2,000 men, we see the comparative effects of the two systems upon the industrial pursuits and material prosperity of each locality, and it is easy to calculate that were the Port Henry ore all separated and converted into iron upon the spot, by the bloomer process, it would afford occupation for twenty or twenty-five thousand men, and form a solid basis of population of from fifty to seventy-five thousand inhabitants of laborers and their families alone.

But as in the future the bloomer process is bound to decline on account of the growing scarcity of coal, and that consequently the work of separating the iron from the impurities with which it is invariably found, must be done by anthracite coal instead of charcoal, it is probably unsafe to count so large a proportion of laborers upon the ore after it leaves the mines.

Nevertheless, when the inexhaustableness of the supply of iron in the mountains about Port Henry is considered, we cannot fail to see, in the not distant future, the proportions of a great manufacturing town looming up. The completion of the New York and Canada railroad will no doubt hasten this time. Already the first steps in this direction are being taken by the erection of a blast furnace, the immense proportions of which are hardly exceeded in the country.

The furnace at Port Henry belonging to the Bay State Iron Company turns out about forty tons of pig iron daily, and this new one at Cedar Point which the Cedar Point Iron Company is building will probably have a capacity of at least one-fourth more. The engine at the former furnace has a "stroke" of seven feet, 40-inch steam cylinder and 90-inch blowing cylinder, while of the new furnace at Cedar Point, the steam cylinder will be five feet in diameter, eight feet stroke, with a blowing cylinder of one hundred inches in diameter. It is intended to have it running before next New Year's, and a second one of similar dimensions will also, it is said, be built soon by the same company.

The capacity of this furnace will probably be upwards of fifty tons per day, and it would take thirty such, costing in the neighborhood of $15,000,000 to work up the present product of the mines owned by these two companies; and the supply of ore is apparently inexhaustable.

If anyone doubts what we have so often asserted in these pages, and this and the contiguous region comprise the richest portion in natural productions of any of the Empire State, he has only to visit these immense works, for the most graphic description can but feebly set forth their magnitude and importance.

It requires no extravagant stretch of the imagination to forecast the time when these shores will be lined with blast furnaces, while the spot where the beautiful and rapidly increasing village of Port Henry now lies, and the magnificent natural terraces above, will be covered by one of the thriftiest and most populous cities of Northern New York.

Seventeen miles south of Plattsburgh, on what was formerly the Whitehall and Plattsburg Railroad, but which is now owned by the New York and Canada R. R. Company, is the little station of Ferrona, situated in a gorge near the headwaters of the Little Ausable river. There is no village here, no store, no church, and only two or three dwelling houses, and the traveler who is a stranger in this region wonders what the train should pull up in this wild place for. But the wonder soon ceases when he sees upon the west side of the track thousands of tons of sparkling iron ore, so pure that it needs to go through no separating or other process before it is fit for the furnace or the forge. This ore is from the famous Arnold iron mine which lies to the westward of the track about one mile straight up the steep hillside.

The mine is now owned and worked by the Hussey and Howe Mining Company of Pittsburgh, Penna., who own a tract of land about two miles long, from east to west, and one mile wide, from north to south, stretching for a long distance to the eastward of the railroad track, and including on that side the mine which was formerly known as the Cook Ore Bed.

On Tuesday of last week we had the pleasure of making an extended tour of inspection over the property of this corporation lying on the west side of the track, in company with Mr. H. Veeder, the efficient agent and General Superintendent of the property, and Captain Richard Kitto, the overseer of the mine.

Passing up the hill at nearly right angles with the railroad track, but bearing a little to the right, we first come upon the Old Barton Ore Bed, which adjoins the Hussey & Howe Mining Com-

pany's tract on the north, but in which however, that company holds a "mining interest." This bed, which is only a continuation of the main Arnold Hill veins, was apparently never worked to any great extent, but appearances indicate that considerable prospecting has been done in former times. Following the course of this vein, which runs nearly northwest and southwest, in the latter direction for half a mile, we arrived at the Arnold Hill shaft, from which nearly all the ore is now raised. A hasty examination of a large area of surface in the vicinity disclosed the fact that there are no less than six veins running parallel or nearly so to each other, for nearly a mile to the southwest, which have been partially opened by former owners. These veins have almost a uniform dip of about seventy degrees to the northwest, and are from three to fourteen feet in thickness, the parallel distance between them being from four to many hundred feet.

These old pits are usually full of water and are ugly looking places, suggestive of profound depths down into the bowels of the earth, beneath the surface. In some places vast masses of rock have fallen from the roof and checked up the mouth of the pit, while in others, deep down in the dark recesses, we see masses of snow and glittering ice, although it is past the middle of June. The investing rock or "country rock," all through this region is gneiss and its near relations, merging occasionally into a variety closely resembling granite, but yet never losing the marks of stratification which distinguish metamorphic rock.

Passing onward to nearly the south line of the tract we saw the remarkable dyke described by Mr. Emmons in the State Geological report, where it is evident that by some mighty convulsion the vein of ore which it crosses has been broken short and the north portion carried to the east about the width of the vein. A short distance farther to the south is what is known as the Indian Vein, which evidently belongs to an entirely different system from the other Arnold Hill veins, as its direction or "strike" is almost at right angles with them. This has been worked to some extent by the present owners, but is now abandoned on account of the lean quality of the ore.

Returning by way of an eminence we obtain a fine view of Palmer Hill and the Jackson Mine, about two or three miles to the

southwest, while in the background loom up the grandest of the Adirondack mountains, Whiteface, Marcy, the Gothics and many others.

The next thing to be done was to visit the mine itself. At this point Mr. Veeder placed us under the guardianship of Capt. Richard Kitto, the overseer of the mine, who has been in the employ of the Company for fifteen years, ten years in working the "Cliff" copper mine in the Lake Superior country, and five years here, as thoroughbred a gentleman as ever clasped your hand, and as efficient and practical a miner as ever followed the track of a vein of iron or copper ore through the underground depths of the earth.

This recollect is a fissure mine, the only one of that class in this region which has been worked to any extent. At Port Henry and Palmer Hill the iron lies in masses, being separated by veins of rock. Here the veins are iron and the separating masses are rock. In the former the process is simply quarrying; here it requires the nicest judgment and skill to trace the veins, look after the drainage and ventilation and lay out the work to best advantage. Capt. Kitto has had the assistance of no mining engineer since he has been here, and yet so well has his judgment guided him, by the aid of outside indications and his previous thorough knowledge of his business, that it would be hard to point out a single mistake which he has made here, although the whole mine abounds in labyrinthine passages, connecting the different veins for the purposes of drainage, ventilation and transportation of ore.

The style of mining in vogue here with previous owners was to work from the surface downward, as the yawning pits along the course of the veins sufficiently indicate, but modern mining science has shown a better way, which is well illustrated in this mine. There are three veins which are now being worked; the "New Blue," situated the farthest to the east, which varies in thickness from three to fourteen feet; the "Old Blue," farthest to the west, from one and a half to six feet thick, and the "Black," situated between the two, and about the same thickness as the Old Blue. A shaft was sunk down the west vein to a depth of 320 feet at the first start, and a huge pump put in. From the bottom of this, mining operations were commenced, the vein was followed by tunneling

southward, and a railroad track laid as fast as the tunnel was pushed forward. A track was also laid up, or down, the shaft, which of course has the same inclination as the vein, or about seventy degrees. The ore was taken from this tunnel and raised. When the tunnel which was, of course, as high as men could reach comfortably to work, was pushed forward as far as desirable, a strong staging was built by letting stout timbers into the stone roof and floor at right angles with the dip, and the men worked upon the staging the length of the tunnel, backward and forward, letting the ore drop upon the staging and fill up, standing always upon the debris as they worked their way upward. This same system is pursued throughout the mine.

In one of the veins there is a depth of ninety feet of displaced ore. Holes are left through the mass at intervals which are protected from falling in by strong timber curbings, through which the ore is tumbled down to the track, upon which it is run out to the shaft upon iron cars holding about a ton each. This may seem strange, that the ore should be thrown down from so great a height only to be lifted up again, but it has been practically demonstrated by long experience to be the best policy.

Putting ourselves under the guidance of Capt. Kitto, we each donned a strong white duck suit, and taking a lighted candle followed him down a ladder into a hole beside the huge pump rod, constructed of heavy square timber, which worked slowly up and down, the stroke being about four feet. The first sensation, after getting well down out of the reach of daylight, is agreeable, the cool temperature affording a pleasant change from the hot air above, the next is one of pain in the hands, the wet rungs of the ladder feeling like ice. Down, down, down we go; now coming to a narrow platform, the Captain cautions us not to step off, and we do our utmost to heed the caution knowing that a tumble of a couple of hundred feet would follow; a few careful steps bring us to the top of another ladder, and down we go again until we come to the pump itself, which is a force pump of the most primitive design, having a solid piston about ten inches in diameter, working in a cast iron cylinder. At the bottom of the cylinder a pipe having a valve opening upwards connects with the cistern below, into which the water is lifted from still greater depths by another pump

connected with the same huge beam before noticed or is collected from the wells above.

Another pipe curving upwards also connects the cylinder with a large cast iron pipe which passes up the shaft to the outside. This pipe also has a valve opening upward, when the piston rises the upper valve closes tightly and the lower one opens as the water rises, and when the piston descends the lower valve closes and the water is forced upward and so on. A common force pump with the exception of the air chamber. "Where is your air chamber?" we asked. "There is none," Capt. Kitto replied. "But do you not lose a great amount of force by dispensing with it?" "How so?" "Why the expansion force of the air which is compressed into the chamber, and which keeps up a constant pressure on the surface of the water." "That," he replied, "is a popular fallacy of mere theorists. You get just the amount of force back which you lay out, not a bit more, but, if anything, a little less, on account of friction, when you have done all, you must lift the water and your compressed air does not help you one bit, unless it is desirable to get a constant stream." And we believe the Captain is right, theories and theorists to the contrary, notwithstanding.

Down, down, down we go, to the very bottom this time, 320 feet, and then commences a subterranean ramble. Here we pass through a tunnel for two or three hundred feet, walking nearly upright, at the end of which we find three miners at work. We examine their work; they are stalwart men as they must needs be to labor in the cramped positions they are obliged to assume. Down on their knees they frequently are, two striking and one holding the drill. Their blows are given with a will, and each is accompenied by a hearty grunt, or what is more like a vocal aspiration, if such a thing could be, a hah! which is supposed among all miners and strikers generally to add about ten per cent to the force of each blow.

The Captain points out some peculiarities of this work, and we soon discover that these are no ordinary laborers, but that this is work requiring the nicest skill in calculating the strength of rock in order to work to the best advantage. The holes must take just such a direction and be driven just so deep, in order that the shot shall displace the greatest possible amount of rock. All this

work is on the contract system. The men work in gangs of three, six, and sometimes more. They make up these gangs among themselves at stated periods. They furnish everything, even the candles they burn, and tools they use, and are paid according to the amount of rock and ore which they displace. This accounts for the vim with which they work. There are no sogers here. Every man in every gang is interested in the job and acts as "boss" over the others. Consequently it is the poorest place in the world for shirks and dead beats. They are spotted at once and soon find it hard work to get into a gang. At stated times the work of each gang is measured by Capt. Kitto and the amount which each has earned is figured up and marks are made upon the walls to serve as guides for measuring the next job. The wages of the men average about $2.00 per day.

We resume our tour of inspection now walking through galleries with high roofs, and now crouching down, our bodies describing the base and perpendicular of an inverted right angled triangle; now we just have time to dodge into a recess when a loaded car comes thundering by; at frequent intervals the solid rock trembles with the shock of some distant explosion, we clamber up over the debris into all manner of nooks and crannies. Everywhere the men are at work with the same energy, striking crushing blows every time and making every one tell with the greatest possible effect.

The Captain calls our attention to the clear manner in which the veins of ore work out from the walls of the investing rock. There is no merging from one into the other, but where the ore stops, there the rock begins, and it cleaves off as clean and sharp as a plaster cast from a glass plate. We saw, and were told by our guide, more things about fissure mining than we ever knew before, enough to fill pages. This, as we have said before, is the only fissure mine in this vicinity which has been worked to any extent, and any person interested in mining would do well to pay it a visit.

After a three hours' ramble underground we returned to the surface. A short description must suffice for what we saw there. One eighty horse power engine drives all the pumping, hoisting and other work. The ore is hoisted from the shaft and run up on a track, which is a continuation of the one down the shaft, and at

nearly the same angle, to an elevation of fifteen or twenty feet, where it is dumped upon a chute, a series of sieves inclined at an angle of sixty or seventy degrees opposite to that of the track. The coarsest of these sieves is formed of railroad "T" rails placed four or five inches apart, parallel to each other. All coarser pieces than this of course go down the incline, while smaller ones drop through upon a series of different graded sieves, which assort the ore into heaps of different sized pieces. About five eights of the ore is so pure that it needs no separating, this is put at once into wagons and hauled away to the station. The remainder is loaded into cars and elevated to the second story of the building and put through crushers, the first being a massive piece of cast iron working on a hinge at an end, in a perpendicular mortise in a huge cast iron block. The entire motion of this crusher at the end farthest from the hinge, is only three-fourths of an inch, and it crushes up the hardest pieces of rock and ore to about the size of your fist as easily as you can crush an egg shell in your hand. The pieces fall through and are next passed between two chilled iron rollers, having a diameter of thirty inches and a face of twelve inches. These rollers work by gearing and one of them is movable so that it gives a little, as the fragments of rock pass through. From these rollers the ore drops into the upper end of a revolving sieve, cylinder, the axis of which is inclined slightly. By this means the larger fragments are passed through and out at the other end, where they are caught by elevators and carried up into a trough which conducts them to the crusher again and so on, while that which is crushed sufficiently fine falls through the sieve and is conveyed by a stream of water down a steep incline to other elevators which carry it to the "jigging sieves." These are cast iron boxes about three by four feet, and eighteen inches deep, the bottoms of which are full of holes three-eights of an inch in diameter, and an inch from center to center. These jiggers have a violent jogging motion up and down of a few inches, and are immersed in a large tank of water when working. Into these the ore and rock is shovelled as it comes from the crusher. Then the jigging motion commences and the ore, being about twice as heavy as the rock, naturally settles to the bottom and falls through the holes, while the rock is shovelled off and thrown away.

This is a hasty and imperfect sketch of the process of separating at these works. The more usual method is to roast the ore until the rocks become friable, when it is put under "stampers," a process which has been described by us heretofore in this series of papers. In some respects one process is preferable and in some, the other, this depending considerably on the quality of the ore. The ore from this separator seems to be remarkably clean. Waste goes on here as at all other separators, but processes are gradually being perfected which will probably finally reduce this waste to the minimum.

Of course, this work takes a large quantity of water, and the mine being nearly the height of the land here was a difficulty. Running streams are not plenty on top of hills. Where then was the water to come from? It comes from the bottom of the mine, being pumped up as already described. Even then there is not enough of it. So a dam has been built about three hundred feet below the separator, from which the water is brought back by means of a pump worked by a wire cable passing over pulleys. Thus the water is used over and over again, but little being allowed to escape, beyond that which the sun will have by means of evaporation.

One thing we came near forgetting, the Burleigh Air Compressor, which is all in working order for driving the drillls in the mine, as well as for ventilation. This, however, is not worked at present, as the single boiler does not generate sufficient steam to drive it together with the rest of the works; but another boiler is to be added soon, when the compressor will be used.

There are no signs of this mine failing, the fissures grow thicker the deeper they are worked, and there are other indications which tend to establish the theory that they finally meet in one bed, perhaps at a great depth. The different ores have long been celebrated for their excellent qualities; they are easy to reduce, the iron is tough and soft, and has nearly the same qualities as the best red specular ores of Lake Superior, and it is claimed to be the only ore known in which are united the qualities of the magnetic and specular ores. It works remarkably well in blast furnaces, makes an iron which is well adapted to boiler plates, flanging, horse nails, wire, hoops and all other purposes, requiring great strength. It

is also well adapted to the manufacture of steel by the Bessemer process. Three separate analyses have been made of this ore; the first, from choice specimens, showed 67.14 per cent of metallic iron and no sulpher, while in the other two were found .19 per cent of sulpher or less than one fifth of one per cent while of metallic iron there was 62.82 and 62.29 per cent.

The history of this mine, which, it is not unlikely, may turn out to be the richest in Clinton County, is as follows: It was discovered in 1806 by Samuel Baker, who in travelling over this tract, saw a piece of the clear blue iron ore which had been unearthed beneath the roots of a pine tree that had been blown over. He took it along with him to Jay, to which place he was on his way at the time, and smelted it in a blacksmith's forge, making a small bar of iron of excellent quality. The lots were 199 and 200 of Maul's patent, containing about 407 acres, and the tract was owned by Judge Winters of New York City. Baker was a poor man and could do but little toward purchasing the land himself, so he took into his confidence John W. Southmayd, of Jay, and Dr. Eliphalet Stickney, who was boarding with Mr. Southmayd.

But little was done, however, until a year later, when they disclosed their secret to Mr. Elisha Arnold, of Peru. A mutual agreement was entered into between the four to buy the land if possible, each one to own one-quarter. Mr. Arnold went to New York and the result of a long negotiation was that the land was purchased of Judge Winters for $800.00.

The company was formed according to agreement and operations were immediately commenced and continued until 1822, when Baker sold out to the other three, Arnold, Stickney and Southmayd, they and their heirs remaining in possession of it until the 3rd day of March, 1864, when it was purchased by the present owners, C. G. Hussey and Thomas Howe, of Pittsburg, Pa., under the name of Hussey & Howe Mining Company. Up to that time the total amount of ore raised was not far from 154,000 tons, during the forty-three years it had been worked, the total value of which was less than $700,000.

Since the present company came into possession the work of mining has been pushed vigorously. About sixty miners are employed and nearly 7,000 tons were raised during the first five

months of the present year, or up to June first, the amount one month having been over 1,600 tons. The men are nearly all of them Englishmen, and are distinguished for their sober and industrious habits. They are far above the average of their class with respect to intelligence and their homes show that they find time to cultivate a taste for the fine arts, as well as other objects which tend to make life pleasant. An excellent cornet band has been organized and their music would reflect upon musicians of much higher pretensions.

Of the future possibilities of these ore beds, judging from present appearances, it would be difficult to prophesy in too glowing terms. The deposit of ore is evidently inexhaustable. Surveys or estimates have already been made for a gravity railroad down to the station. The grade is uniform and the scheme is perfectly practicable, and will no doubt be carried out as soon as the mine is sufficiently developed to warrant it. Perhaps a tunnel into the mountain on a level with the railroad track will be made at some future time, which will enable the owners to dispense with the expensive pumping machinery. Then, of course, there would follow a track with almost level grade, to bring the ore to the railroad by its own gravity, in which case the mine would be the least expensive to work of any in Northern New York.

CROWN POINT IRON COMPANY.

The property of this corporation was formerly owned by the Hammond Brothers, but the capital stock has recently been greatly increased and important improvements made, among which are two large blast furnaces at the steamboat landing, a railroad to the mines, thirteen miles west, new docks, etc. It is well known that many stockholders of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Co. are interested in this enterprise, and that, together with the fact that the New York & Canada Railroad is now nearly completed, and is also understood to be under the control of the Delaware & Hudson Company, lends great interest to the developments at this point.

With a view of making whatever notes might be interesting to the public we paid a visit to these works two weeks ago. Land-

ing at the wharf of Crown Point from the day boat going south, the first thing which arrested our attention was the substantial nature of all the surroundings. A splendid new dock has been built out into the lake a considerable distance, having ample accommodations both at the front and sides for steamers, canal boats, etc. Upon this dock, running lengthwise at one side, there is a railway track running up an incline, with chutes for the convenience of dumping ore or iron directly into canal boats, and farther up near the other end of the dock a huge blast furnace was in operation. Giving a hasty glance at these features we hurried up the dock to the W. & P. depot, having much to do and little time to do it in. An inquiry of a laborer sitting upon the steps of the depot, a crippled laborer, otherwise he would have been at work with might and main, as was everybody else hereabouts. "How many trains run to the mines each day?"

"Two each day."

"Has the last one gone yet?"

"Yes an hour ago. There's the track you see, running around the foot of the mountain yonder."

That was bad; we had calculated on the best of luck---being just in time to catch the last train up. Again we try our friend.

"Do you know if General Hammond is at home?"

"The Gineral is it? and didn't yez see him at the wharruf?"

"No, I don't know him."

"Phwat, not know the Gineral?"

The man looked at us at first incredulously, and then his expression changed to one of supreme contempt for our ignorance. Then taking his pipe from his mouth with a flourish:

"Did yez not see a tall fine-looking gintleman on a big black horse? That was the Gineral."

Just then the sharp clang of an engine bell was heard off at the left.

"Hullo; cried our friend, there' the engine now, going up to the mines, maybe, again tonight, to take up cars for sand."

Off we started upon a dead run for the engine, down the old tracks, across a marsh, up an embankment with breathless haste, expecting every moment to hear the machine begin to snort and move off, leaving us behind.

"Are you going to the mines this afternoon?" we had just enough breath to gaspingly inquire of the fireman.

"Yes."

"Will you give me a ride up?"

"Dunno 'bout that; ask the engineer and roadmaster out there by the shop."

To them the case was stated; belonged to press gang, search of knowledge, hadn't time to find General and get a pass; want to go up bad.

"Jump aboard," was the reply, "we'll risk it anyhow."

So aboard we jumped, mentally recording a vow to remember Roadmaster J. D. Hardy and Engineer Jim West, in our supplications ever afterward; a comfortable seat in the engine cab, the bell rings and away we go, with a long train of empty cars winding gracefully around the sharp curves. A mile up we stop a moment at Crown Point Post office to take on a case or two of goods, and then on goes the train up the valley of Putnam Creek, called Put Creek hereabouts, which furnishes water power to the village, sawing the lumber and grinding the grists. The engine, General Putnam, coal burner, weight twenty-two tons, pants and coughs as we toil up the crooked track which winds about the picturesque valley of Put Creek, a noisy, brawling stream which heads off in the mountains to the left. The name of General Israel Putnam has, as we have seen, been commemorated in this stream as well as that of the huge locomotive, and it is appropriate that this should be, for hereabouts it was where he first made his appearance as a military man, in the French and Indian war, in 1755, having raised a company, of which he was captain, near Pomfrel, Conn., where his home was, and joined the army near Crown Point, during the two years following earning the rank of major.

Onward and upward we go, for we must surmount the Kayaderosseras range, Hammondville lying on the other side, the track which is three-foot gauge continually cutting S's, as it winds along through the valley. The engine labors heavily, the gauge indicates a pressure of 130 pounds to the inch; here with a sharp turn we glide over a trestle work fifty feet high, and then plunge into the dark green forest. The slopes of the high hills on either side are covered with hard timber, on which the autumn tints begin

to appear; the valley is a fertile one, but continually growing narrower and more broken. Two and one half miles up we pass Crown Point Center, once a town of considerable importance, nestling down among the mountains to the north, containing a tannery, woolen factory, grist and saw mills, etc., on the road from Ticonderoga to Moriah, but now eclipsed and thrown in the shade by her more vigorous iron-hearted sister.

Three miles are passed, and we get a glimpse of Lake Champlain, and the mountains beyond; we have passed over some fine farming lands, well cultivated, the grade becomes steeper, it averages one hundred feet to the mile, and the steepest portions rise one hundred fifty feet to the mile. Here is a nearly level place, full steam is put on, and a tremendous rate of speed attained, but the acquired momentum is soon exhausted as we come to a sharp pitch, which takes the tuck out of old General Putnam again. Another spurt and we reach the summit of Army Hill, and as the train winds slowly around a curve a most enchanting view of the valley below, with its villages, Lake Champlain beyond, and the green shores of Vermont on the other side, with the spires of the little village of Bridport in full view, and the high wall of the Green Mountain range blending in the smoky atmosphere, with the horizon in the distance, is obtained. Now we pass an old shaft where unsuccessful prospecting for iron has been carried on in the past. Here we get our first view of Put Creek, as the train rushes over it to its left bank, on a long trestle work, fifty feet high, a turbid dark stream it is, which goes hurrying on its rocky way. The valley now contracts more rapidly, traces of iron appear in the solid blocks of gneiss which lie by the track. Onward we go until eight miles are passed when we come to Irondale, rightly named, owned by the company—they own everything hereabouts, and wearing the black, sooty look which is so common to all iron manufacturing places. This is a small village lying at the north side of the track, and you are at once struck with the air of neatness which the little white cottages, lining the street, bear.

There is a nice church, a school house, a neatly kept cemetery on the hill, a six-fire bloomer forge, first erected in 1828 by Penfield, Harwood & Co., sawmill, gristmill, separator, etc. A new separator and roasting kilns are being built below a new stone dam

which from all appearances will furnish whatever water power is needed, Put Creek here making up in head what it lacks in volume. All about are evidences of the devastation which follows the bloomer iron works. The hills are stripped of their timber far up toward their summits, and away up by the margins of the forests you see the old-fashioned coal pits smoking.

At Irondale we stop long enough to back the empty train up a steep incline to a sand bank, where a portion of it is left, and then on and up we go again, leaving Put Creek for good, off to the left, where we get a glimpse of the pond with its "slash" of decayed timber caused by flooding, which is laid down on the map. Away we go past a meadow on the right with its trout brook, so Jim West the engineer says, a heavy cut through the solid gneiss rock; a tremendous enterprise for a private one, this railroad, costing well on toward a million dollars, so it is said; high, rocky bluffs rise to the left, here we are at the old charcoal blast furnace, which was built in 1845 by J. & S. Hammond and E. S. Bogue, burnt down in 1865, immediately rebuilt, and burnt for the last time and for good probably, two years ago. A huge pile of cinders bears evidence of the enormous amount of business which has been done here in times past. This furnace was forty-two feet high and nine feet in diameter, and the escape heat was used for generating steam for sawing coal brands, grinding feed ,etc. Here the first pig iron used in the Bessemer Steel process in the United States was manufactured. Old General Putnam stops to take water, and while he does so we gaze about on one of the roughest, ruggedest, rockiest of scenes. Huge bare rocks rise to the left, while in front, belonging to the same range is Knob Mountain, a bare, round rock, having a perpendicular precipice upon the western side, from five to eight hundred feet high. We are up to the summit of the grade now, and trundle along merrily. Looking back we see the summits of the Kayaderosseras range to the left, stretching on to the northeast toward Port Henry, near where the range ends abruptly in Bulwagga Mountain. Another trestle work, a nearer hill shuts off Knob Mountain for a short time, when, as we sweep around a huge curve, the valley of a branch of the Schroon come in full view, with Paradox Lake into which it discharges, two miles away, and the valley of the

Schroon itself in the distance; at the left is that same wonderful face of Knob Mountain, in front, to the southeast is, Pharaoh, or Blue Beard Mountain, with the buildings of the skiff ore bed in view, the products of which go to the Horicon Iron Company of Ticonderoga. Just over the other side, and all around, the landscape is tumbled up into all manner of rough shapes. And this is Hammondville, where the mines are located. Here we meet the Superintendent of the Crown Point Iron Company, Prof. A. Herring, a gentleman and a scholar, who was formerly Inspector of Mines and Iron in the Spanish Army; is familiar with the mining districts of Spain and Portugal, a native of Florida, who, when the war of the Rebellion broke out, girded on his armor to fight conscientiously for his country and who, consequently, might at any time during the war have chanced to cross swords with General John Hammond, who was also fighting conscientiously for his country. Strange transformations the whirligig of time effects. Now these two men of war toil peacefully side by side, for the no less renowned victories which peace must work out.

The short time before the train leaves is faithfully occupied in looking about under the guidance of Prof Herring. First, the hoisting and pumping engine and apparatus; the engine is eighty horse power, and the apparatus, which is sufficient to raise 500 tons per day, is of the most modern and approved pattern. This mine is situated on what is known as the Paradox Tract, Lots No. 45 and 46, and was formerly known as the Penfield ore bed. The excellent quality of the ore was well known half a century ago, and we find a certificate, dated Washington, June 13th, 1829, from the Commandant's office, detailing experiments which established the fact of the superiority of iron made from this ore. There are six different veins of ore here, varying from five to thirty feet in width, all nearly of the same quality, almost as pure as the purest, and as good as the best for steel. There is not a trace of sulphur in this ore and only a slight trace of phosphorus, as will be seen by the following analysis by Pittsburg and Chicago chemists. Prof. Herring has himself also made exhaustive analyses of the ore reaching the same results.

THE ANALYSES.

	Hammond Run-of-Mine*	Penfield Run-of-Mine*	Penfield Pure Ore x
Sesquioxide of Iron.....	50.13	55.60	64.98
Protoxide of Iron.....	23.29	25.24	30.18
Protoxide of Manganese....	0.38	0.31	0.17
Alumina	4.22	1.09	2.46
Lime	1.28	0.53	1.07
Magnesia	.85	0.12	
Silica	20.02	17.44	1.44
Phosphoric Acid		0.05	
Titanic Acid	trace		
	100.17	100.38	100.30
Metallic Iron	53.16	58.53	68.96

*Analysts, Maynard & Wendell.
xAnalyst, P. M. Drown.

These six veins have been worked more or less in years past, but are now to a great extent filled up with water. This is being pumped out, and a small quantity of ore is being raised from one of the veins. The veins are all thought to be true fissure veins, although they are found to be exceedingly irregular. They have many of the regular characteristics of fissure veins, the dip and cleavage from the walls, but suddenly the bottom of the vein is reached and a gray gneiss rock uncovered, not, however, the native rock of the country, but wearing an appearance of having been subjected to a recent heat. An uneducated miner would now pronounce it to be a "pocket" and abandon it, but certain indications disclose the true state of the case to a man who knows his business. A shaft is sunk through the rock in the same direction of the dip, and twelve feet below, the vein is again found. These veins follow no uniform direction; they run at all angles with each other; the dip every way, and yet they are evidently true veins; the ore has been forced up by some mighty throe of nature through the cracks in the rocky crust of the earth, from an illimitable reservoir of molten iron below.

We climb about into the mouths of the mines, peer into the shafts, clamber up and down the rugged paths, listening with deep

interest to the Professor. The workmen here are mostly Danes and Norwegians, and are intelligent, frugal and industrious. We see here the same style of neat white cottages which were noticed at Irondale. The company owns them all and the workmen have the use of them rent free, as also they do the pasturage for their cows during these dull times. No liquor is allowed about these premises, and no swearing is heard or abuse of horses permitted. The foundations of a Union Church are already laid. The workmen at present are mostly Lutherans, but all denominations will have a chance in the new church, and all preparations are being made for a large population. At present only about a hundred men are employed, but there is ample room in the separate mines for ten times their number when they are all worked. But little ore is being raised at present, just enough to keep the blast furnace running at Crown Point, with a sufficient quantity ahead to keep it supplied for six months. These buildings have all been erected within the past twelve months, since the railroad was commenced in the spring of 1873.

From the observatory of Prof. Herring's house the view is magnificent, as it is in fact, from any point above here. Mount Marcy towers up to the northwest, but his companions are hiddden by the nearer ranges. Owl's Pate is a most remarkably shaped mountain in the same direction and a little to the right of Marcy, a huge, smooth, round topped rock with a precipitous bluff on the south, this and its near neighbors shutting off the view of Nipple Top and Dix's Peak. But down the valley of the Schroon the view is very fine, with the gentle slopes upon either side, while the bald wall of Knob Mountain to the east, which has been mentioned before, shows to the best advantage, the rays of the sun striking it at right angles as we took a last lingering look, bringing out all the rich variety of colors which the oxides of iron impart to the rock in this region. At the foot of this bluff lies Hammond Lake, of fabulous depth, into which the Professor put 25,000 young salmon trout over a year ago, and from which rare sport and rarer eating are anticipated in the future.

The engine bell rings sharply----all aboard. By special permission and advice of Prof. Herring, for which we thank him, we are permitted to ride on the cow catcher and what a

ride was that! Reader did you ever ride on a cow catcher? Yes. Well it is naught, it is naught, if you never rode down a grade of 150 feet to the mile, on a 22 ton locomotive, with nobody knows how many thousand tons of iron ore pushing behind. The setting sun was embracing the edges of the ponderous purple clouds in the west with threads of burnished gold, but that was nothing; and the tints lay upon the mountain sides, a whole garnet of them, but what of that, down we went with a crash, a rattle and a thunderous roar, awakening all the slumbering echoes, around the curves swept the train over the narrow track, dashing into the thickets and out again, crashing through the cuts and creeping along the narrow ledges of the precipices, now we twist around a sharp curve, and over a high trestle work, down, down, down---it is like the old-fashioned sliding down hill on a hand sled, the track is so smooth. Here we have a chance to note the wonderful transformation scene which is going on perpetually below as new bits of landscape are rapidly unfolded, one after another, still onward we shoot until the train brings up at Crown Point at dusk.

Taking a long breath and a parting, reverential gaze at that cow catcher of old General Putnam, which, after so long a time, has revealed to us a new sensation, we hastily betake us to Viall's Hotel for supper, after which a look at the Soldiers' Monument of fine granite, Quincy, we should judge, surmounted by a beautiful granite statue of a soldier, with overcoat and musket, chiseled by the hand of a master.

It is a magnificent shaft, some forty to fifty feet high, enclosed by a neat iron fence, on the village green, bearing upon one side the inscription: "To the memory of the brave volunteers of Crown Point, who gave their lives as a sacrifice for their country and humanity in the suppression of the great Rebellion of 1861-1865. This monument is erected by their grateful fellow citizen, G. F. Hammond." And upon the other three sides are the names of the sixty-eight brave citizens, soldiers of Crown Point, who sacrificed their lives for their country, together with the names of their regiments. Almost one-third of the whole number, 192 enlisted from the town---192 out of a population of a little over 3,000. What town can show a better record than that?

The whole region hereabouts is repleted with interesting historical associations. Near by, the oldest fortifications on the lake were erected, and frequently in the history of this country has Crown Point been the theatre of warlike operations. A volume of interesting reminiscences might be gathered from survivors and descendants of the actors of those stirring times. But we must hasten.

Two hours remain before the night boat passes northward, just time to look over the two blast furnaces, only one of which is running. A walk of a mile toward a lurid gleam in the east, most of the distance over as good plank sidewalks as Plattsburgh can boast of, brings us to the spot. Huge barricades of ore, or something else, are encountered at the outset, and by the dim light of lanterns hanging here and there, the way is at length traced. A blast furnace should always, if possible, be visited by night, for everything about it then shows to the most striking advantage, and if he who comes in upon one for the first time, out of the darkness of night, does not experience a new sensation, then he is played out and incapable of one. The ponderous machinery, the bright streams of light, the intense heat, the strange figures of the workmen, now lighted up with a brighter than noon day blaze, and then flittering about in the sombre shadows of the huge walls; all make up a strange, weird scene. You always find the men about these works to be intelligent; they can give you any information respecting the machinery which you desire. No spruce clerks are to be seen hereabouts, in a luxurious office, in all the glory of broadcloth and perfumery. But men in homespun, who know every cough of the engine and every sound and jar connected with the machinery, and can tell as quickly if anything is going wrong as if it were in their own stomachs. Step into the engine room, sit down for a moment and watch the machinery. We were particularly fortunate in our guide, for at the first pick we selected Morris Downs, night engineer.

Away up aloft, under the high roof, you can dimly see the ponderous "walking beam" working up and down upon its center. It is a mere reed, thirty feet in length and weighs 28,000 pounds. At one end a piston rod connects it with the stream cylinder 52 inches in diameter and into this the rod plunges fourteen times

every minute, nine feet six inches, as the stream forces the huge piston up and down within. At the other end, a similar rod works in the same manner in the "blowing cylinder," which is eighty-four inches in diameter. This is filled with air, and here is where the blast comes from which blows the fire and melts the iron in the furnace. The engine has a capacity of 350 horse power. There is a pressure of thirty pounds of steam and the blast pressure is from four to five and one-half pounds.

Passing over into another building we find the boilers, sixteen of them, each forty feet long, with a diameter of three feet, six inches. No coal comes near these boilers. The gas which arises from the combustion of the coal in the furnace is forced by the pressure of the blast, the furnace being tight, through flues to these boilers, when it is again ignited and burns upon the same principle as ordinary illuminating gas.

We pass along into another compartment and the heated atmosphere indicates that here is the furnace, a huge circular brick structure, sixty feet high and largest diameter sixteen feet. Great coils of pipes connect it with other portions of the establishment, and water circulates about through other pipes freely. This is about how it all is; in order to separate the iron from the rock impurities with which it is always found, it must be melted, rock and all. Then the next thing is to separate the iron from the melted rock or cinder. In order to do this there must be a hot fire, and in order to get a hot fire there must be a strong blast of air. In ordinary steam manufactories, a blast is obtained by building a fire at the bottom of a high chimney. Then when the air is heated, it ascends, the higher the chimney the more rapidly; and the cold air rushes in at the bottom, thus making a blast sufficient for the purpose.

But here it is not sufficient, so an artificial blast is created by the aid of a steam engine, as we have already described, and this blast furnishes the heat which is the motive power of the engine. Thus we see it is a circular, reciprocating, back-action arrangement, which when it once gets in motion, must be kept so. Into the top of this furnace is dumped first a certain quantity, which is accurately weighed, of coal, then another quantity of iron ore, and another of "transition limestone," which is used as a flux, which.

when melted mixes readily with the melted rock and facilitates its separation from the iron. The same proportion of these three materials is constantly adhered to and the furnace is kept filled up nearly full, these materials being put in at the top which is then tightly closed by a conical cover, suspended by an iron chain and shutting against the under side of a rim, when it is raised, thus closing the top of the furnace, and opening it as it is lowered. Following our guide we step upon a platform between two huge iron barrows of coal, everything is of iron about here, a signal and up we go, up into the darkness. Upon the elevator thirty seconds and we are up in the air sixty feet, to the top. Stepping off we see the top of the furnace, looking into a circular pit some ten feet in diameter and four feet deep, in the center of which is the flat cone aforesaid. The coal is dumped in, and more, and still more. Now stand back, another moment of somebody somewhere, the cone is lowered and the coal rattles down its sides into what looks like the crater of a volcano or the mouth of the burning pit itself. You are thirty feet way, and yet the fuel gases choke you and the heat from the mouth of the monster scorches your face, as if it would not be denied the pleasure of swallowing you up. Suddenly the cone rises and all is dark again. Then the ore and limestone flux follow. All this time the blast of wind from the big blower, a hundred feet or more away, is forcing the coal gas as it is liberated, back to the boilers, going, as it returns to another square structure of fire-brick, first, through which the cold air coming from the blower passes, so that it may be hot when it enters the furnace, thus the heat is all utilized.

Upon the platform again, and at the signal we descend. Suppose the chain should break sometime when these immense loads are going up? Then, by an ingenious arrangement, the motion of an elliptical spring, which is always kept bent to its fullest tension by the weight of the platform and its load, but which would immediately unbend, should the chain break, an iron of strong iron teeth spring at each side and "mesh" into an iron rack, arresting in an instant the descent. Here we are upon the ground again, after passing the tank holding 200 tons of water, which serves with a thirty foot head to keep the surroundings of the furnace cool.

They are about to blow off the cinder. As the ore and rock melt inside, the rock or slag rises like froth to the top of the molten mass and must be drawn off. The hole which is at the right level is punched out, and the ruddy stream pours forth and crawls along like a great red dragon.

A stream of water from a hydrant played upon it, causes it to expand in a strange manner, as if it was humping its back angrily at the interruption. Another interval and the iron is ready to be drawn off. A lower orifice is opened, and the molten iron pours down a gutter and side ways into transverse short ones in a large bed of sand, forming the "pigs." The inside of the building is brilliantly lighted up and the faces of the workmen glow as if they were demons. Thirty tons of pure iron is melted into pigs here every day in the year. Blast furnaces run day and night, week in and week out for years without interruption, for when they stop it costs thousands of dollars to start them again. The red stream becomes weaker, for some inscrutable reason the old furnace begins to blow, and now ensues the most brilliant sight of all. The fire glows as it issues from the orifice, with a most intense whiteness, and the sparks fill the huge room full, while the lurid light streams far out upon the lake.

The steamboat bell sounds, we hasten to the dock just in time for the boat, and as she moves off down the lake, we take one last lingering look at this still glowing building, and its reflection in the waters of the lake, at the very foot of the walls, illuminating with a weird light all the objects in the vicinity, after which we turn in to dream of all sorts of infernal horrors through the few remaining hours of the night, as the good steamer Adirondack plows her way northward through the lake.

The officers of the Crown Point Iron Co. are General John Hammond, Crown Point, President; Thomas Dickinson, Scranton, Pa., Treasurer; Hon. Smith M. Weed, Plattsburgh, Secretary.

To the energy and skill of the popular president, General Hammond, is due much of the success which has already been attained, together with the promise of the future. Whoever remains in Crown Point any length of time, will not fail of hearing his name mentioned in terms of greatest respect by the citizens of the town, or of seeing him in the streets, mounted upon his faithful black

horse, the same which carried him safely through many of the hottest battles of the great Rebellion.

Of the future prospects of Crown Point, it would be difficult to speak in too glowing terms. The deposit of ore is apparently inexhaustable; the company owns its own transportation lines to the great markets, and also owns and controls immense deposits of anthracite coal, upon which in the not distant future, we must depend for making iron, as the charcoal becomes exhausted. The face of the country along the lake shore is level and well adapted to large manufacturing establishments, and the increase of population which will naturally follow; all these considerations point significantly to an immense growth and a prosperous future.

(The foregoing is No. 16 in the series "Home Enterprises" printed in the Plattsburgh Republican and written by the editor, the late Dr. George F. Bixby.)

CHATEAUGAY IRON ORE COMPANY

In the years immediately following the Declaration of Independence, while the infant American Colonies were struggling with the mother country for their independent existence, the whole northern frontier of New York was greatly exposed to the incursions of hostile savages, who were incited by the British to acts of bloodshed, and several of the States failing to furnish their respective quotas of troops, New York found it necessary to furnish herself with some extra means of defense.

The Legislature, therefore, in 1781, passed a law providing for the enlistment of two regiments of soldiers and the faith of the State was pledged that at the end of their term of enlistment, the soldiers and officers should each receive a bounty of land for their services, according to their rank; Major General, 5500 acres; a Brigadier, 4500; Colonel, 2500; Lieut. Colonel, 2250; Major or Chaplain, 2000; Captain or Surgeon, 1500; and Subaltern, 1000 acres. A large tract of land had been surveyed in the central portion of the State to satisfy claims that arose from this action, but the Indian title not having been extinguished, there arose some difficulty in settling the claims, and some of the claimants becoming clamorous, in the year 1786, on the 5th of May, the Legislature of the State of New York passed an act granting twelve townships,

each ten miles square, lying in what was then the county of Clinton, "for satisfying the claims of all persons who were entitled to public lands by virtue of military services," the Indian title to these lands having been already extinguished."

The land thus appropriated was known as the Old Military Tract," and it lies in the form of a parallelogram, twenty miles wide, from east to west, and sixty miles long, from north to south. The twelve townships into which the tract was divided were numbered from south to north and back, commencing on the east side, the four southern ones or numbers 1, 2, 11 and 12, being in Essex County, which was taken off from Clinton in 1799, and comprising the towns of North Elba, St. Armond, Keene, Wilmington and a portion of Jay and Elizabethtown; numbers 3, 4, 5 and 6 lie in Clinton County, forming the larger portions of the towns of Black Brook, Saranac, Dannemora, Ellenburgh and Clinton, while numbers 7, 8, 9 and 10 are in Franklin county, which was formed from Clinton in 1808, and include the towns of Chateaugay, Burke, Belmont and Franklin. On the 19th of June, 1786, the Surveyor General was directed by a resolution of Land Commissioners to lay out the tract in accordance with the act, which was soon afterwards done, but on account of the locality being considered undesirable, or for some other cause, no part of the tract was ever appropriated by military claimants, but was sold by the commissioners the same as other lands.

Of the greater portion of this immense tract of land we have nothing to do in the present article. For years it was considered of but little account, situated as it was in the very heart of the wilderness which lay between Malone and Plattsburg, and covered, a great portion of it, by hard wood timber, which was unavailable for building purposes.

On the 25th of February, 1785, the two whole townships, numbers 6 and 7, comprising the present towns of Clinton, Chateaugay and Burke, were conveyed by the Commissioners to James Caldwell of Albany, who the following March 6th, 1785, was glad to get 500 pounds in currency of Col. McGregor, of New York, for his purchase, the latter, very likely, being sick enough of his bargain when he found what he had bought. Number 8 was patented to Col. McGregor ten years later, Feb. 25th, 1795; number

9 mostly to Gerrit Smith, August 10, 1849, and a large part of number 10 was also sold to Gerrit Smith, while township number 5 with which we are chiefly interested now, on the 11th of September, 1794, became the property of William Henderson, Merchant, of New York City, who on the 28th of January, 1795, sold it to Jacob Mark. On the 3rd of February, 1795, Mark mortgaged it to Jacob and Robert LeRoy and from that time onward it seems to have been kicked about as briskly as possible between several parties, until 1822, when the whole possession fell to John L. Norton and Hannah Murray probably the widow of John Murray and mother of John L. Murray. Eight years later, in 1830, April 17th, a town was formed from Mooers, into which a portion of number 5 was incorporated under the name of Ellenburgh, so named in honor of the daughter of John and Hannah Murray. Soon after the township fell into the possession of John L. Norton and Hannah Murray, in 1822, they divided it up into 300 lots, lying partly in Dannemora and partly in Ellenburg. The two owners then divided the tract when the portion lying in Dannemora fell to Hannah Murray, who conveyed it to Lloyd N. Rogers, Nov. 22, 1822.

That these first surveys were fearfully and wonderfully made, recent examinations of the lines furnish abundant evidence. When township number 5 was being run out the surveyor forgot the number of his tally while running the south line from east to west, and measured eleven instead of ten miles, thus cutting into number 8, but on the north side of the lot, he only ran over about a third of a mile, thus making a "gore," which afterward fell into the hands of Gerry Smith. The sub-dividing lines of the townships were also very irregular, zig-zagging back and forth over the true lines in a most remarkable manner and laying the foundations for innumerable lawsuits in the future. These inaccuracies were doubtless due, many of them, to the existence of the iron deposits, which would naturally cause the variation of the compass.

Up to the time when this property fell into the hands of Rogers, it is uncertain whether the presence of iron ore upon it in any considerable quantities was suspected. We know that in 1803 a forge had been erected about three miles above Chateaugay on the river, and that a portion of the ore which supplied it was derived from the swamps in the vicinity of Chateaugay Lake, partly

from boulders and some of it being "bog ore," and that some of the ore was drawn from Clinton County, but as the forge was soon abandoned it is fair to suppose that no considerable deposit of iron had been discovered anywhere in the vicinity at this early period. But Mr. Rogers in 1822, or soon afterward was aware of the presence of iron upon this land, the tradition being to the effect that it was discovered by one, Collins, to whom Rogers agreed to give a one-third interest, an agreement which it is presumed he failed to ratify, as this is the ordinary way of the world. About forty years ago the existence of an ore bed, called the "Prall Bed" was known, lying about a mile southwest of the vein which is now worked, in the direction of Chateaugay Lake. This bed was worked for a while by a Mr. Helliker, the ore having been drawn into Franklin County.

But the mine might as well have been in the interior of Africa as here, for it was in the midst of one of the wildest and most inaccessible regions in the whole northern wilderness. Lying as it does about midway between Chazy and Chateaugay Lakes, much of the land about it is swampy and covered by an almost impenetrable growth of timber, through which wild beasts roamed undisturbed until a late period.

The first settlement in the vicinity was made by Benjamin Roberts of Ferrisburgh, Vermont, and Nathan Beeman of Pittsburgh, in 1796, in what is now Chateaugay. Beeman, in his youth, had resided in Ticonderoga, and acted as a guide to Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold when they surprised that fortress and captured the garrison one March morning in 1775, "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," and by the aid of a greatly inferior force of Green Mountain Boys. Roberts started in February with an ox team, but was able to get only eighteen miles toward his destination on account of the depth of the snow, and there he left his loading concealed with hemlock boughs and returned to Plattsburgh.

In March he started again, with Levi Trumbull, his hired man, for the place where he had concealed his goods, on the snow crust with a hand sled, upon which was an iron kettle, tapping gouge, etc., their intention being to make maple sugar when spring opened. This hand sled they drew twenty-two miles toward Chateaugay,

along a narrow path which had been cut the fall before in anticipation of a road, probably the route of the present "turnpike."

The narrative of the struggle of these early settlers is intensely interesting, their suffering for want of food and other necessities, the heoric conduct of Mrs. Roberts, who insisted on accompanying her husband, with their four little children, and sharing his hardships. How one of the oxen died from fatigue and Mr. Roberts, placing part of the load upon the back of the other drove him onward to their destination, bearing one of his children upon his back, and his wife carrying an infant in her arms, both on feet; how the journey of forty miles was made from Monday to Saturday night; how a clearing was made about half a mile north of the present site of Chateaugay village, where a small patch of potatoes and turnips was raised the same year, the seed having been brought from Cumberland Head by Roberts and Beeman, on their backs.

Chateaugay was formed from Champlain and it originally embraced townships 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the Old Military Tract.

The first town meeting was held in 1799. The best evidence of the wildness of this region is the fact of large bounties having been offered for the destruction of wild beasts. For each panther killed, a bounty of $10 was offered in 1815, $30 in 1818 and up to 1821; for wolves the bounty was $10 in 1807 to 1815; $15 in 1817-1818, and $20 from 1819 to 1826. For bears $10 was offered, wolverines $15, etc. These bounties were not discontinued until 1822.

But little was done toward developing the resources of township number 5 previously to 1868, when Messrs. Foote, Weed, Mead, and Waldo made a contract with Edmund Law Rogers, now of Baltimore, Md., son of the Late Floyd N. Rogers, for four-fifths of the property and soon after these partners took possession. Subsequently C. F. Norton became a partner and in January, 1873, A. Williams; the other parties retiring from the firm which is now composed of Messrs. Norton, Williams and Weed. (All of Plattsburgh). About a year ago the business of developing the mineral resources of this property was set about in earnest. The first thing to be done was to get a road through it from both directions. From the Saranac River a winter road had been in existence for some time, it having been cut out a portion of the distance on the track of the Old Smuggler's Road from Saranac Hollow to the Canadian

line. Over this winter road more or less ore has been drawn for the last few years to the "Phillips Separator" about two miles from the hollow, which is now abandoned. But it was soon seen that a good road to the mine was a necessity which could not be ignored in the successful working of the mine, and last winter a bill was passed through the Legislature granting the town of Dannemora the privilege of taxing the non-resident lands in the vicinity in order to partly pay the expense of building a road. Last spring the work was commenced in earnest of building a plank road thirteen miles into the unbroken wilderness.

That road is now completed and a ride over it gives one but a faint idea of the obstacles which had to be overcome in its construction. Such a ride we had three weeks ago.

Starting from Saranac Hollow in company with Messrs. Williams and Moffitt, we drove up past the old dismantled Phillips separator two miles from the Hollow, about the only thing left to mark the spot being the tall chimney which stands as a monument to the enterprise of its former owners. A mile further on we pass the first house built in Saranac by Mr. Hopper, a log structure, and soon afterward plunge into the wilderness unbroken save by the road over which we travel, which is as smooth as a house floor with almost a level grade.

Somewhere near the route of the present road was the trail upon which seventy-two years ago, Samuel Stone, first agent for Township No. 4, Old Military Tract, together with one companion, was caught in a snow storm, October 8th, 1802. His companion froze to death on the trail and Stone himself was so injured by freezing that he died three weeks afterward. Three years later, June 21st, 1805, the second agent, John D. Fiske, was killed by the falling of a tree.

We trundle along merrily, the dense, swampy thicket on either hand giving the best evidence of the tremendous difficulty of building a road through such a country as this.

Gangs of workmen were busily engaged finishing the road, ditching, grading up at the ends of the planks, etc. Soon we cross the main inlet to Chazy Lake, and three and a half miles from the Phillips separator is a camp where the workmen on the lower division eat and sleep; the proprietor being John Hull. Here a road

branches off to the right for the head of Seine Bay on Chazy Lake, forming a junction with the plank road owned by the State, one mile below. A little farther on brings us to the road to Bradley Pond one mile away, a small sheet of water about half way between Chazy and Chateaugay Lakes. Here we pass the spot where early one morning last summer two workmen saw an immense panther sitting by the roadside, and soon afterward in accordance with a well known principle of mutual repulsion, the men and the panther were putting in their best jumps in opposite directions. „

Here also a leaning birch tree is shown close to the road which had evidently for a long time served as a bear's roosting place, there being a convenient resting spot about ten feet from the ground in a fork. Old Bruin was caught asleep there once last summer, but only once, and now he has deserted it probably for good, disgusted at the frequent interruptions of his naps. The tree is stripped clean of its bark and marks of the bear's claws are plainly to be seen, made as he came down backwards, "bear fashion."

On we go and now get a glimpse of Chazy Lake to the right, only a quarter of a mile or so away, while a little farther in the same direction Johnson's Mountain looms up; and also Roosevelt Heights or Ellenburgh Mountain, and on the left the land rises gently up toward the outlying spurs of old Lyon Mountain, the highest elevation in Clinton County. A little farther on and we get a glimpse of Birch Hill to the right, around the base and sides of which, so it is told us, are signs of deer in uncounted numbers. Now we come to Elbow Hill, the sharpest grade on the road, and soon afterward the ponies trundle us briskly up to the separator.

A short interval before dinner is improved by a visit about a mile away toward Chateaugay Lake, where the advance party of workmen on a new road to Belmont are busy. The present means of communication with the outside world to the northwest is by an old road to Tuppers', a "sporting house" on the lake, where he who would get to Belmont must take a boat across the lake. But the new road is to be built three and a half miles farther to the east, where it will join the State road, thus securing easy communication for teams and carriages with Belmont.

On our way down this unfinished road we encounter the master spirit of the whole road making enterprise, Leonard Nokes. Now

what Leonard Nokes of Harrietstown doesn't know about road building, you may be sure is not worth finding out. He is a bluff, hale, hearty man in the prime of life, and there is something in his very gait and countenance which inspires confidence in his ability to do whatever he undertakes. As we pass along he points out with pride the boulders which have been pushed out of the way, the cuts and fills that have been made, and other difficulties that have been overcome. Here we are at the end, a cul du sac, an army of trees of all sizes in front and around, a passage through which must be made.

How is it done? Watch and see. A man places a ladder twenty or thirty feet long against a huge spruce, climbs up and fastens a rope to the body. Attached to the rope a couple of pulley blocks are rigged and fastened to the foot of another tree a short distance away, a span of horses is hitched to a rope passing over the pulleys in the other direction when, apparently as easily as you would pull over a cornstalk, the tree is plucked up, root and branch, and soon put out of the way. The separator is nearly new, and is situated on a brook which comes rushing down from old Mount Lyon, the summit of which is about two miles away. The machinery of the separator is run by water power under a head of fifty-two feet, the wheel being of the Craik pattern thirteen and one-half inches in diameter. Near by is the steam sawmill driven by a thirty horse power engine, which has been running since last March, the boiler and machinery having been transported from Ellenburgh via Plattsburg and Saranac last December with great difficulty, there having been no plank road through the woods at that time. The work is done by a circular saw, and any length of timber or plank can be cut, from twelve to forty feet. Hard or soft timber is disposed of with equal facility. When we were there a solid log of the finest clear red birch was being cut up into material for the plank road. Close by is the boarding house kept by Mr. Hopper, a descendant of one of the original settlers in Saranac. Lumber is being cut for larger and better buildings, which the company will soon erect.

Two-thirds of a mile to the south, up a steep grade, brings us to the mine, or that portion of it which is being worked, for the vein has been traced over a mile and a half by the visible outcrop-

pings of the ore, and by the compass much farther. The general direction of the vein is from northeast to southwest, but it is much disturbed, being a strata vein, and, of course, following the direction of the rock strata, which are much distorted hereabouts, probably about the time when the upheaval of Mount Lyon occurred, just at the base of which the main vein lies. The country rock here is grey gneiss, and the strata are tilted up in an almost perpendicular position.

The ore crops out upon the surface and the work of obtaining it is simply quarrying instead of mining. The vein has been worked for about twenty-five rods. The ore varies considerably in quality, but that it makes an excellent quality of iron there can be no doubt.

With regard to the depth of the deposit, of course, nothing definite is known, but all the indications point to an unlimited supply of ore. True, it belongs to the class of strata veins, which as a general thing, other conditions being equal, are not supposed to be so sure to hold out as fissure veins, but there is certainly nowhere in this whole region such abundant indications of an immense deposit of iron so easy of access as here. No pumping or hoisting will be necessary for years. The ore is simply loosened from its bed, teams back up to it and cart it off to the separator. A railway track from the ore bed to the separator was formerly in operation, but this has now been abandoned, as it is found to be cheaper, all things considered, to employ teams for transporting the ore. About 100 tons per day is the present average amount of ore raised, making fifty tons of separated ore.

The view from the mine, altogether not a greatly extended one, is very fine, Chateaugay Lake and its mountain environments being visible. Situated as this mine is just at the northern base of Mount Lyon, it will undoubtedly become the favorite starting point for the ascent of that highest elevation in Clinton County. But few persons have ever been to the summit of the mountain, and no regular trail has been cut, but the view, especially to the north and west, is said to be very grand, embracing Montreal, the St. Lawrence river, etc., and it will probably ere long become a popular resort of lovers of mountain trails and mountain scenery. This mountain is nearly 4,000 feet in height.

Mr. Emmons in his State geological report, makes the following remark with regard to this region: "While other parts of the earth's surface have been changed, the ancient barriers broken up or thrown down, here we find they have remained in profile much the same; raised up it is true, but the uplifting has been so gradual that the contour of the ancient headlands is preserved."

Now, while this remark may be generally truthful as applied to the "ancient bay," embraced by a line drawn from Trembleau point westward to the watershed of the Champlain Valley, and northward along the elevation of the Laurentain Hills, Lyon Mountain and its vicinity affords a remarkable exception to the rule, for nowhere do we find such strong evidences of a mighty convulsion as here, an upheaval powerful enough to crush upward through the rock crust, and tilt the strata of the secondary rock into an upright position. In the Adirondack region proper, in the vicinity of Mounts Marcy, McIntyre, Colden and Whiteface, we find no such evidence of an upheaval as here, in fact, there is strong evidence going to show that these peaks and mountain masses are only remaining points of what was once an elevated plateau which has been ground down, gullied and seamed by the action of the elements, the icebergs of the glacial period, supplemented by the later and slower action of frost and mountain streams. The ordinary fissure metal veins bear evidence of having been opened by some convulsion, separate from that which occurred at the time of the general uplift, but strata veins such as these were evidently opened and injected at the time when the mountain masses themselves were raised.

The Chateaugay Iron Ore Company own about 30,000 acres of land here, a great proportion of which is covered by a dense growth of fine hardwood timber, consequently their facilities for manufacturing the finest quality of bloomer iron or charcoal pig iron are unequalled in this whole country. It is not unlikely that a charcoal blast furnace will be erected at no distant day upon this tract, together with large bloomer forges. For the present, however, the ore will be transported to the Saranac river, to Russia, where Messrs. Williams and Moffitt have a forge of six fires, to Plattsburg, where C. F. Norton has one of four fires, or to Belmont, where Messrs. Pope and Williams and Company are building a large forge which will probably go into operation by January 1st, 1875.

That the discovery and devolopment of this immense deposit of ore is destined to add greatly to the wealth and prosperity of the whole section of country lying about it, there can be no doubt. No private enterprise ever undertaken within Clinton County approaches in magnitude that which this Company has undertaken and accomplished in building the plank road through the heart of the wilderness, transporting the machinery necessary to drive the separator and saw mill and opening the mines. And certainly no enterprise of this kind has ever been accomplished which is destined to add so much wealth to the county, which would otherwise be diverted to other channels. Naturally the products of this mine would go in the other direction, to Franklin county, but now there is a plank road every inch of the distance from the mine to Plattsburgh dock, about thirty miles, where the ore can be shipped direct to any of the great iron markets by water, the cheapest medium of transportation.

Foremost in this good work has been our townsman, Andrew Williams, whose business sagacity and personal oversight of the work has been one of the main elements which have contributed to success thus far, and greatly aided his business partners, Messrs. Weed and Norton in pushing the enterprise seccessfully.

With regard to the quality of iron produced from this ore it is sufficient to quote what Pittsburgh analysts and steel manufacturers say of it. Park Brothers and Company say: "It is fully equal to the best Lake Champlain iron for the manufacture of best quality cast steel;" and Dr. Hussey, of Hussey, Wells & Company, writes: "I have been trying the iron sent me by Mr. Williams; tell him it is alright, he need not have any fears in recommending it, as I have no doubt it is as good as any made."

PERU STEEL AND IRON COMPANY AT CLINTONVILLE

In the year 1824 the Representative of Clinton County in the State Legislature, Mr. Tallmage, in a speech before that body, speaks of the Ausable as "a precious and interesting river," abounding in excellent water privileges and draining a region which was rich with mineral wealth.

As early as 1765 this river had been explored from its mouth up as far as the Ausable Chasm by William Gilliland, one of the hardy pioneers who first effected a permanent settlement on the

west shore of Lake Champlain. But for many years afterward the vast resources of the beautiful valley above were unsuspected, or if suspected, no steps were taken toward effecting their development.

A few settlers had, it is true, made beginnings between the mouth of the Ausable River and Keeseville and about the year 1806 or 1807, a man by the name of Thaddeus Mason built a sawmill at the lower end of the Ausable Chasm, just above the "basin." But it would seem he was possessed of more pluck and enterprise than wisdom, for the following spring the freshet swept every vestige of the establishment away and no one has since attempted to carry on his bold design.

But a little later, probably in 1807, Robert Hoyle foreseeing that the valley destined to be settled at no distant day, conceived the design of erecting a sawmill on the rapids just above the lower bridge in Keeseville, and employed a German by the name of George Shaver to blast the rocks in the river preparatory to erecting a dam. This man built the first house in Keeseville, a log hut near where the foundry now stands, where he lived and boarded his help until the dam was completed.

About the same time a few farmers had made openings in the region above, on the Little Ausable, as high as where Peru village now stands, and even farther along on the western slope of that stream to the vicinity of Arnold Hill; while on the Great Ausable River a few scattered settlers had established themselves as high up as the present town of Jay.

Among these was a man by the name of George Griswold, who, probably about the year 1810, erected a dam on the Ausable River at what is now known as Clintonville, where the upper dam is now located. Here he built a forge of two fires and a grist-mill. The ore for this forge was obtained at what is known as the "Winter Ore Bed" situated about a mile and a half west, from which many thousand tons of ore have since been raised, but which is now temporarily abandoned.

This forge at Clintonville is believed to have been the first forge erected on the Ausable River, although it is not absolutely certain, as there is a deplorable absence of published records relating to this early period and much has to be trusted to

the recollections of the early inhabitants, which, although of inestimable worth, are not always strictly accurate.

The next actor upon the scene here at Clintonville, for it is with this point which we have to do chiefly in this paper, was a man by the name of Samuel Bullen, who emigrated from New Hampshire to this region probably about the year 1811 or 1812.

The first houses built in the village were a store, which is now occupied as a dwelling house by Mr. Lacy; and a dwelling house near where the carpenter shop now stands, for the bloomers, the names of the first two who ever worked here having been Snow and Spinx.

A few years later Mr. Bullen who seems to have been an energetic business man, was accidently killed while on a visit to Vermont, by his horses running away, and the next proprietor who appeared was Joshua Aikin, who probably continued in possession until November 11, 1824, when the Peru Iron Company was organized, of which he was made president and in which office he seems to have remained until 1826.

On the 11th and 14th of July of that year we find the record of meetings of the Directors or Trustees of the Peru Iron Co., at which a resolution was passed, "that J. Aikin and E. Williams be authorized in their joint discretion to contract for the purchase of any lands in which (ore) beds may have been discovered, to any amount not exceeding $1,000." At the same meeting it was voted that Williams be allowed to erect a dwelling house, either of brick or stone, at an expense not to exceed $800.00. It was also resolved "that $300.00 be applied to paying balance due for building church, and that Messrs. Aikin and Williams receive conveyances of pews to that amount in behalf of the Company."

This was a Presbyterian Church and was probably the first one built on the Ausable River., But it seems that one good act of this Company only led to another, they appearing to have given the lie direct at the very start to the old proverb, "Corporations have no souls," for the next resolution authorized the appropriation of "one hundred dollars per annum toward supporting a minister of the Gospel to do stated duty in the meeting house;" and this was followed by still another, "that one hundred dollars be appropriated toward erecting a suitable building for a school house

on the ground of the Company, provided the residue be first subscribed by the people of the vicinity to complete and paint, and that the President be authorized to execute a permanent lease of sufficient ground for its erection."

So we see that at this early period the Company took care to provide for the education and religious instruction of the community which they were gathering around them. From this same ancient record we get some idea of the magnitude of the establishment which had already grown up at this point.

Francis Saltus of New York City was President and the names of Nathaniel Behrends and Benjamin E. Swan appear a year or two later, they probably having been trustees. At the same meeting in July, 1826, it was resolved that the roof of the rolling mill and forges should be tinned, from which, of course, we are to understand that those works had already been erected. The forges at that time stood on the site of the original one, on the east bank, which has since been washed away up nearly to a rocky bluff, so that it would seem to be impossible that there could ever have been room here for works of this character. An earth slide marks the spot now, and high above on the bank are the remains of the old coal yard, the coal having been dumped down to the forges below; while some litle distance below on the bank of the river are the remains of an ancient brick yard.

At this same meeting Joshua Aikin, who it seems was entrusted with the chief management of the works, was "authorized to construct a bulk-head at Port Douglass, running along the shore north of the present pier at right angles with it, 200 feet in length and of sufficient width to have four feet of water outside of it; and also to construct a shed on said bulk-head in front of the present store house, running out 60 feet in length parallel with the bulk-head, about 18 feet in width * * * * calculated as deposit for iron."

The fact that lumbering had already begun to be carried on to a considerable extent on the river is indicated by a provision of the Company for "Booms to prevent the recurrence of injury from running logs;" while the age of the nail factory is shown by the authorization of Mr. Aikin "to arrange with Mr. Spear for the erection of works in grist mill now building for the manufacture

of cut nails.'' We find also a resolution warmly commending the plan of building the Port Kent and Hopkinton Turnpike, a work which was subsequently carried out and which resulted in the diversion of an immense amount of traffic from what was then the ''Far West;'' a region which extended through the wilderness even as far as Watertown. The land was taxed on each side of this turnpike for a width of three miles and after it was completed it was no uncommon thing to see a string of wagons a mile long bringing farm produce into Keeseville, down over the turnpike which passed through Clintonville and thence across the country to Franklin Falls. Plattsburgh was hardly known then as an important commercial point compared with Keeseville and Clintonville.

At this time the supply of ore seems to have been derived from the Arnold and Winter Ore Beds, from which the Company had obtained the lease. The average wages paid to miners was $12 per month, and on the 7th of August, 1826, a contract was made with Jacob Billings for coal at five cents per bushel; one-half in goods and one-half in cash. August 22nd, 1826, Wheeler and Hodgson agreed to furnish the stone necessary for the foundation of the engine house at Arnold Ore Bed, the ore having probably been raised previously to this by horse power with a ''whimsey.''

On the 5th of October, 1826, we find that ''New stack was put in blast this day,'' and that ''the old one continues blowing, having commenced on the 26th of April last,'' or April 25th, 1825. From this we learn when the two blast furnaces were finished and set to running. What their capacity was there seems to be no means of determining, but it is known that they were charged with wood and charcoal and blown by a cold blast of course, for such a thing as a hot blast had not been thought of, and that hollow and other iron ware was cast here as well as pig iron, the castings having been made direct from the furnaces. These furnaces stood between the present rolling mill and the foundry.

On the 28th of January, 1828, a cable factory was ordered to be built and an anchor forge had already been some time in operation. Here the largest ship anchors and iron cables were manufactured of the Arnold Hill iron which seems to have been adapted to the purpose.

Some time in 1829 the nail factory was erected, and during the spring of the following year a freshet swept the forges away on the east side of the river, whereupon the company built the lower dam, together with the present canal, which is nearly half a mile in length, by which they get a fall of about fifteen feet at the lower end. Here at the lower end of the canal they built a large forge, the building being of wood. This stood until Sunday, July 31, 1836, when it was burned to the ground. But the same season the forge now standing was erected, a massive stone building about 200x75 feet, with sixteen fires, undoubtedly one of the finest bloomer forges on the continent today.

About this time a great change seems to have been made. The lease of the Arnold Ore Bed having expired, it was found necessary to look elsewhere for ore. Previously to this time a considerable quantity had been obtained from the Palmer Hill mine, probably for the forges, while it is presumed that that used in the blast furnaces was taken from Arnold Hill, as was also doubtless some for the forges, this being so rich that it needed no separating. Previously to about this time, such a thing as separating ore by water was unknown in this section, but at Palmer Hill a magnetic separator had for a long time been in operation. This consisted of a hollow cylinder about the size of a hogshead, having an axle running through its center longitudinally and furnished on the inside with a great number of small horse-shoe magnets. This cylinder, the ends of which were both open, was arranged with one end raised a little higher than the other, and as it revolved upon its axis by horse power the ore, which had previously been roasted and stamped fine, was shovelled into the upper end, and as it was tumbled around by the motion, the particles of ore would adhere to the magnets, from which it was then removed by stationary brushes and carried away by a system of elevators, while the particles of stone would fall out at the lower end. A large pile of coarse sand marks the spot where this stood, and near by are the remains of the barn where thirty horses were kept for working the separator.

But in the process of time the belief grew stronger and stronger that there might be some improvement upon this slow, wasteful and expensive method, and finally about the year 1835 the Com-

pany commenced separating ore by the water process. Their first separator was built on the brook which runs off from Palmer Hill. The sieves were worked by hand for the first year or two, and many men are living who can recollect working at this laborious employment, jogging the sieves up and down. But in 1837 the present separator was built at Clintonville on the canal already mentioned, about half way from the lower dam to the forge below, and here improvements were soon afterward made by which hand labor was to a great extent dispensed with. This period from 1826 to 1836, and perhaps later, was probably the most prosperous one which the Ausable Valley has ever seen.

At Black Brook the Rogers had commenced making iron in 1832 and five years later at Ausable Forks; there was a large iron manufactory at New Sweden two miles above Clintonville; there were forges at Wilmington, on Lake Placid, and other points above; near the Arnold Ore Bed there was the Batty forge of two fires, and a short distance above was Batty's upper forge and separator, while on the place now owned by Elisha Allen, on the west slope of the Little Ausable, was the Etna blast furnace, which was built in 1826 by Ketchum, Hart & French, under the name of the "Peru Smelting Company," and a short distance further north was another blast furnace, which had been built in 1822 by Watson & Drury.

The gathering of these records seems like digging up the remains of antiquity, and of an extinct generation, and the mind can hardly realize the fact of the existence of such an immense business as was done in this region during the period reaching up to about forty years ago. But it is impossible to do more than glance at these matters in a newspaper article like this. A volume could be profitably filled with details which must here be omitted.

Closely connected with the interests of the Peru Iron Company from a very early date stands Palmer Hill. Among the earliest settlers in this region was a man by the name of Palmer, who, with his son, Zephaniah, located somewhere in the vicinity of Ausable Forks, sometime previously to the year 1825. Zephaniah Palmer was a surveyor, and in some of his rambles about the country discovered indications of iron ore on the bold, uninviting summit, which was subsequently by common consent named after

him, of which he soon afterward obtained possession. This hill is situated on what was known as the Slocum Tract, of the 8th Division of Livingston's Patent, lot No. 15. In 1825 Mr. Palmer began to raise ore from this mine, selling it mainly at first to the Peru Iron Company, and on August 22, 1826, we find a memorandum to the effect that "Palmer and Lee are to furnish ore (raise it) at the same rate as Z. Palmer has raised it heretofore and each to share equally in the sum paid by the Peru Iron Company." The ore at that time was taken from near the surface, and the north end of the tract now occupied by the works of the Company. But as the Arnold ore was much richer and cheaper and the difference in quality had probably not been discovered, this was used mainly, in preference to the Palmer Hill ore. The lean quality of the latter, together with the heavy cost of separating by magnets, made it much more expensive, the former being so abundant that the ore which required separating was not used at all.

But, as before stated, in 1835 the process of separating by water came into use, when the Palmer Hill ore began to become of more importance, one reason of which was doubtless because of the greater difficulty of raising the Arnold ore, on account of the increasing depth of the mine. At this time teams were simply backed down into the Palmer Hill mine and loaded up, no hoisting or pumping apparatus being required.

Somewhere about the year 1828 or 1829 Palmer sold or mortgaged three-eights of the hill to the Peru Iron Co., while Aikin was Manager, and there is a tradition that the dissatisfaction which the company felt in consequence of this move was one of the causes which led to Aikin's removal soon afterward. But the property steadily increased in value as the excellence of the ore and the extent of the deposit became known, and whatever regrets were felt at the time have probably long since disappeared.

About the same time, or perhaps a little later, Palmer sold or mortgaged the remainder of the property to different parties. Litigations sprang up in consequence of the great desire by different individuals to get hold of a portion of the property, and the final consequence was that Palmer found himself dispossessed of his property by sharper parties and was driven to the necessity of laboring by the day, in his old age, upon the very hill upon

which he had made his fortunate discovery, and for the very men who had become enriched by it. He left several sons, one of whom is ex-Governor Palmer of Illinois, and it is said he died and was buried near the mouth of the Ausable River, about fifteen years ago, while the body of his father lies in a neglected spot under a pine tree in or near the village of Ausable Forks.

Palmer Hill is now the joint undivided possession of the Messrs. J. & J. Rogers, of Ausable Forks, and of the Peru Steel & Iron Company, of Clintonville, the former company working the opening on the south side, and the latter on the east or northwest side. The works at Clintonville remained under the management of the old Peru Iron Company until 1865, when the present company was organized under the name of the Peru Steel & Iron Company.

Francis Saltus, the old President, had died several years before this, and the business had, during the later portion of this period, been managed by his sons, of whom he had four, Theodore having been the one who made the transfer of the property.

The President of the present Company is Charles Blivin; Francis J. Dominick is Vice-President and Secretary; and Edward Dodge is Treasurer. The Trustees are H. A. Harley, Wm. Henry Gunther and Mr. Hulbert, all these officers having other business of various kinds in New York City. The present resident manager is D. Cady, who has filled this office since the fall of 1872. The condition of the works as we found them last Monday is much as it has been for a number of years past. At the upper dam is a saw mill, grist mill, rolling mill with three trains of rolls, besides a slitting machine, a foundry, wheelwright's shop, carpenter's and blacksmith's shop, etc. This company has from the first depended mainly upon its own resources, having, it is presumed, done this at first from necessity and after having once established the habit kept it up ever since.

They make their own wagons, throughout, iron work and all, and all machinery and apparatus required at the mines or about the works. Here are found the remains of the old blast furnaces long since destroyed by fire and never rebuilt and the old cable and anchor factory. Everything is built in the most massive and substantial style as if with a view of defying the ravages of time it-

self. Half a mile below is the lower dam and from here the water which drives the forge and separator below is taken into a canal about half a mile in length. About midway on this canal is the separator and roasting kilns. The separator is after the usual style, the ore being first roasted and stamped and afterward sifted under the water, and ample provision is also made for saving the fine particles of ore which in the ordinary separators are carried off by the stream and wasted. About a quarter of a mile still further below is the forge which has sixteen fires and four hammers.

Everything here is built in the most substantial manner and seems to be in just as good a state of preservation as when first worked forty years ago, although it has been in constant use ever since. The hammers which were constructed here, as indeed almost everything else, are of wrought iron and of a peculiar, curved shape. One of them has been in constant use for thirty years and appears as good as new. Near by is a pile of charcoal containing some 300,000 bushels and the immense supply of ore piled up ready for the separator indicates business for a long way into the future. Returning, you notice the new iron truss bridge between the two dams constructed a few years since at an expense of $18,000 and on the street of the village which runs along a bluff some fifty feet above the rolling mill we find the company's barn, one of the finest in this whole section, together with a handsome store and office; the latter containing a large vault in which are stored away the books and papers of the present and former owners which cover a period of almost three quarters of a century. Here is a fine view up the valley, with Whiteface and Keene Mountains in the background, while directly to the east rises a high elevation known as "Hog-back." About five miles to the southwest is the famous Palmer Hill which has for years been such a prolific source of wealth to this whole section of country, and from which this company has for many years supplied themselves with ore to feed their immense works. A plank road has been constructed the whole distance to the mines across the sand plains on which is growing the third crop of timber, the first having been a heavy growth of white pine. This road passes along the divide lying between the Ausable River and the basin which lies at the very head of the Little Ausable.

Here we find the first road ever constructed across this country leading from Peru to Jay, Wilmington and Keene, nearly a mile west of the river and running about parallel with it. Just before reaching Palmer Hill we pass a new school house which would be a credit to any village, erected partly by tax on the inhabitants and partly by the two companies, the employees in both the Rogers' and Peru Steel & Iron Company's mine using it. A little further on a sharp rise is encountered which makes one wonder why a tramway has not long ago been constructed some 200 yards on which to run the ore down to the level below and at the same time use the power to pull empty cars up the grade and even to raise the water and ore from the mines.

Arriving at the shaft we find the usual engine house with its hoisting apparatus, and the long lines of beams which work the pumps, reaching out in several directions and working lazily backward and forward; while a stream of water is discharged from each shaft, which has been brought up from the depths below. Along the eastern slope of the hill extends what appears at a distance to be a huge gash which has been cut into the surface but which close inspection shows to be a continuous series of surface excavations terminating below in tunnels and shafts leading to still lower depths. Underground there are huge pits, and slopes in all directions from which the ore has been taken for years, this whole section of the mountain or hill being honeycombed to the depth of many hundred feet. The ore on this side is of lean quality as the immense piles of rock which have been raised and lie beside the mouth of the shafts amply attest.

Here George Hodgson oversees all operations, having been in the employ of the company for sixteen years. an energetic man who knows his business thoroughly and attends to it faithfully. About seventy men are employed here, sixty of whom are miners, and the amount of ore raised per day averaged from forty to fifty tons which yield about fifty per cent of iron.

From the summit of the hill is as fine a mountain view as can be seen in this whole section. Marcy, Cobden, McIntyre and the Gothics being visible, while the view of Whiteface and the Wilmington Notch is one of the best which can be seen from any point. The quality of the iron produced here is so well known that there

is no necessity of speaking of it. For the manufacture of cast steel it is unexcelled and for this reason it always commands a good price.

The company owns the dam at Lake Placid, by far the largest reservoir on the river, with the exclusive privilege of using it at will, in this possession having a decided advantage over all rival corporations on the river. They also own land in all directions within a circuit of fourteen miles from which are drawn their immense supplies of charcoal, of which they use about 5,000 bushels per day, when in full operation. They have eleven lots in the southwest corner of Peru, on which is a deposit of plumbago; about thirty lots in Lewis where there is another rich vein of plumbago from which some 600 tons have been raised; about forty lots in Chesterfield and many in other localities.

On their tract in Peru are three square, brick coal kilns; near Poke-O'Moonshine are three kilns of the beehive pattern; in Black Brook, four, square; in Ausable are two, beehive; in Jay, three, beehive; in Lewis, thirteen, square; in Chesterfield the Wrisley kiln; two beehive kilns at Trout Pond and at Auger Pond two beehive kilns. These kilns are all within a distance of fourteen miles and the cutting of wood and manufacture of charcoal in them furnish employment to a small army of men as it has done for over forty years.

The Winter ore bed, named for its former owner, Judge Winter of New York, which probably determined the location of the works at Clintonville, it being within a short distance, is on lot No. 210, Maule's patent. An immense quantity of ore has been taken out from this bed which is probably the oldest iron mine in this part of the country. A tunnel 100 feet in length has been constructed here into the side of the mountain which greatly facilitates the raising of the ore as well as pumping out the water. The quality of this ore is about the same as that of the Arnold ore bed. Although abandoned for the present it is not improbable that it will again be worked extensively in the future as the ore is far from being exhausted in it.

To forecast the future policy of this company would be a difficult task to undertake. The natural tendency for the iron, as well as all other kinds of business is to fall into the hands of large

corporations. The time was when any man who could raise means to start a forge fire on his own account could work it with advantage and profit. But that time has long since passed. The great expense attending the operation of mining, owing to increased depth from which the ore must be raised and the water pumped, as well as the introduction of expensive machinery, makes it impossible for any other than wealthy corporations to embark in and prosecute it successfully. The great need of this region seems to be now manufactories in which the iron can be converted into merchantable goods; edge tools, axes, nails, fences, bridges, architectural ornaments or other articles of everyday use. The water is here, the cheap labor is here, and above all the iron is here.

Perhaps the future will see this very company manufacturing their own iron into articles of ornament or use, thus utilizing the elements which seem to be ready on all hands to aid them, furnishing employment for tenfold the number of hands they now do and increasing in the same ratio their already enormous income. A survey from the village of Clintonville to the railroad track has demonstrated that the distance to the nearest point on the line is only one mile and that the grade is only 100 feet to the mile.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of such a corporation as an element in the prosperity and development of the region in which it is located. Their operations have, for more than half a century, stimulated every branch of industry around them; their money has enriched all classes and their influence has always been cast on the side of good morals and wholesome reforms. If taken away a blight of all interests, social, moral and financial, which they have contributed to build up, would surely follow, for they are actually the creators of wealth, digging it up from the bowels of the earth and scattering its blessings on every hand.

Beside such corporations as this and those engaged in manufactories, our bankers and traders are of small account for they are comparatively like children, hoarding, sweating, or tossing the gold about which their more sturdy fellows are creating for them. Immense incomes have rewarded the latter and the reward is well deserved, for it is the fruit of unremitting labor, both mental and physical, and unflagging, invincible enterprise.

LORD HOWE.

By Frank B. Wickes, Ticonderoga, N. Y.

At the time of Abercromby's expedition against Ticonderoga, Lord Howe was thirty-three years old. He was like Milton's *Michael,* whose "starry helm unbuckled, showed him prime in manhood, where youth ends."

If only I had the privilege, the reach, and skill to unbuckle for you this hero soldier's "starry helm," and show him as he was! As it is, the best that I can do is to give you only a few glimpses and snapshots of one of the most attractive personalities of that great period,—the period of colonization that followed the period of discovery, when the effect of the finding of America on the minds of European men in the direction of expansion, inspiration, adventure and activity was not yet spent; when France and England were contending with each other for the first place so long occupied by Spain; when the control and possession of North America was the problem of the statesmen and the work of the soldiers and colonists of those two great rival nations—one of the most attractive personalities of that marvelous eighteenth century.

No biography of Lord Howe seems ever to have been written; but the diaries, journals, letters, military reports and newspapers of that time are penetrated by his reflection. As well as we can, in these fragmentary dusty mirrors, we must see what manner of man he was.

This is the way he looked to his English contemporaries:

Said Abercromby:

"As he was very deservedly universally beloved and respected throughout the whole army, it was easy to conceive the grief and consternation his untimely fall occasioned; for my part, I can not help owning that I felt it most heavily and lamented him as sincerely."

Said Oliver Goldsmith, writing five years after the death of Lord Howe:

"He was the Scipio of his age and country, formed for all that was amiable in society and great in war. He had the spirit to adapt himself to the service he was engaged in, discouraging and difficult as it was, by retrenching in his own person every encumbrance that could arise from his rank, either as a nobleman or an officer, even to the cutting off of his hair. The common soldier saw him fare like himself, nor did he seem to affect the least pre-eminence, but in his forwardness to encounter danger and endure fatigue, so that he appeared to be rather imitated than obeyed by all under his command."

Thomas Mante, historian of the war, called him the soul of Abercromby's army. He said that his enterprising spirit infused a noble ardor into every rank.

An Albany correspondent of the London Daily Advertiser, writing under date of July 15, 1758, says of him, among other things, that he was temperate, modest and active, and did his business without noise.

Wolfe, the hero of Quebec, called him "That great man," and said further:

"The noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time and the best soldier in the British Army."

Said William Pitt:

"A character of ancient times; a complete model of military virtue."

This is what the Colonial officers thought of him:

Said Robert Rogers, the Ranger, writing in April, 1758:

"Upon my return from the late unfortunate scout I was ordered to Albany to recruit my companies, where I met with a very friendly reception from my Lord Howe, who advanced me cash to recruit the Rangers, and gave me leave to wait upon General Abercromby at New York, who had now succeeded my Lord Loudon, in the chief command."

And on his return from New York, again Rogers wrote in his Journal:

"I left New York April 8th, and according to orders attended Lord Howe at Albany for his directions on the 12th, with whom I had a most agreeable interview and a long conversation concerning the methods of distressing the enemy and prosecuting the war

with vigor the ensuing campaign. I parted with him having the strongest assurances of his friendship and influence upon my behalf, to wait upon Col. Grant, commanding officer at Fort Edward, to assist him in conducting the Rangers and scouting parties in such a manner as might best serve the common cause, having a letter from Lord Howe to him."

Said Rufus Putnam, cousin of Israel Putnam, in his Journal kept during the Abercromby campaign, referring to the skirmish in which Lord Howe was killed:

"We lost but few men, but among them a brave and bold commander—that worthy man, my Lord Howe, who is lamented by us all, and whose death calls for our vengence."

Said Dr. Caleb Rea, a Massachusetts surgeon in Abercromby's army:

"My Lord Howe, who behaved exceeding well in ye front of ye battle, was killed, and most lamented, being a very active pleasant man."

John Stark also always spoke of Lord Howe in the highest terms, but after the Revolutionary War broke out, he used to say that he was more reconciled to the death of Lord Howe because, if he had lived, his great ability might have been used against America.

It is probable that if he had lived, Lord Howe would have been placed in command of the English forces in America in the time of the Revolution. Who knows how many more royalists there might have been if he had been here? Who knows how many mistakes of British officers would never have been made? Who knows but this forceful, fascinating man, loyal to his king, and, at the same time, holding in his grip the affections of the people of the colonies, might have stood in the way of the independence of our country? If so, it was a beneficent providence that laid him in his forest grave in the unabated strength and the unfaded charm of his early manhood.

It is a curious fact that Lord Howe, the probable commander of the English armies, and Joseph Warren, who was killed at Bunker Hill, who would most likely have had Washington's place if he had lived, should both have been removed, as if the hand of God were making room for itself in history.

Here are a few characteristic things that Lord Howe did:

It was the fashion then for gentlemen to wear long hair, tied behind with ribbons, and young men paid much attention to this part of their toilet. Lord Howe, whose hair was fine, handsome and abundant, cropped it short for this campaign. He discarded the uniform of a brigadier general and wore a short, common soldier's ammunition coat, with ranger's leggins. He washed his own shirt in the forest brook, and wore his coat without a shirt under it until his shirt was dry and he could put it on again. He ate corn meal and pork, the ration of the common soldier. He carried a knife and fork in a sheath, and presented his officers with an outfit like his own. And the only furniture of his tent was a blanket and a bearskin.

He reached this country in the summer of 1757, and spent the next year in Boston, New York, Albany and other parts of the country, making the acquaintance of the people and studying the adaptation of the art of war to the conditions and circumstances under which he found it must be practiced on this continent. He was especially interested in the methods of the Rangers, and sought instruction from Rogers, Stark and Putnam. It is said on the authority of what appears to have been a tradition in the family of John Stark, that he went on a scout with some of the Rangers, and that they took him to the top of Mt. Defiance in Ticonderoga, and that he called attention at that time to the fact that this eminence commanded the fort, and that a few pieces of artillery here would do the business.

About the middle of June, 1758, on Lord Howe's arrival at Fort Edward, he sent Rogers with fifty of his Rangers, in five whale boats through Lake George to the neighborhood of Ticonderoga, to quote the language of Rogers in his Journal, "to take a plan of the landing place at the north end with all possible accuracy, and also of the ground from the landing place to the French Fort at Carillon, and of Lake Champlain for three miles beyond it, and to discover the enemy's number in that quarter." Rogers accomplished this with complete success and later wrote in his Journal "on the 20th, at Halfway Brook, we met my Lord Howe, advanced with three thousand men, to whom I gave the account of my scout, together with a plan of the landing place, the Fort at Carillon and the situation of the lakes."

So Lord Howe was in possession of the fullest information as to the lay of the ground about Ticonderoga.

His recorded utterances are very few; but here is something that he said, once upon occasion, in view of the jealousy that existed between the British regulars and the Colonial troops, and the contempt with which the British officers were disposed to treat those who did not belong to the regular army:

"Knowledge and respect for the varied manners and opinions of others will harmonize our great army and will make it invincible. Any gentleman officer will find his equal in every regiment of the Americans. I know them well. Beware how you underestimate their abilities and feelings, civil, social and military."

Here is one of the secrets of his power: He saw the great truth, concealed always from the eyes of little men, that every human being that we meet, whatever his social or intellectual rank, knows more about something than we do, and his usefulness to us depends upon our ability to avail ourselves of that superior knowledge or skill.

Then, there was another thing about Lord Howe. It is the supreme act of organizing constructive genius to harness conflicting forces, and make them pull together. So, fire and water are made to work together to carry this vessel on its way. So Henry of Navarre welded the energy of Catholic and Huguenot for the glory of France. So Bismarck built the German Empire. So Abraham Lincoln brought this nation through in the crisis of the Civil War. This faculty seems to have been one of the gifts of Lord Howe. He took that army of Abercromby, cloven in twain as it was by the jealousy and illfeeling between regulars and colonials, and he made of it one army with one spirit and one purpose.

Such was the man; such was the soldier, who stood on the beach at the head of Lake George before sunrise on the morning of the 5th of July, 1758, the real leader of the great expedition, which, on account of its disastrous and uncalled for result, is very properly called Abercromby's.

Nine hundred batteaux, one hundred thirty-five whaleboats and many rafts for the transportation of the baggage and artillery, all propelled by oars, and carrying between fifteen and sixteen thousand men, started down the lake. The weather was somewhat

cloudy, reducing to grey the blue of the sky and water; but the mountains stood close and lifted the horizon high. The forest primeval was unbroken from water's edge to sky line, except for here and there a glimpsing cliff and the unsubduable face of Rogers Rock. The green of June was still unsullied; and the wooded islands furnished to the scene that gentle interruption which was the perfection of its harmony and nature's final touch of beauty.

The great flotilla spread over the water and filled six miles of the Narrows. The flags, British and Colonial, the dress of the Scotch soldiers, and of the English red coats and Jersey blues, gave to the thronging boatloads of men the gleam and glow of picturesque color. The music of the Highland bagpipes seemed native to the place, and in connection with the scenery made the Black Watch think of their "ain countree."

And so advanced the new world's greatest army yet, with Rogers and Putnam and Stark and Bradstreet and Murray and Howe for its executive men. At dusk the boats were run upon the beach at Sabbath Day Point and the army disembarked to rest and eat, and wait several hours for the rafts which had been left behind, to come up. Here Lord Howe spread his bear skin on the ground and sent for John Stark to talk over with him the best way to approach the French fortress.

It is an interesting illustration of the discernment of Lord Howe and his judgment of men, that, out of all that army, he should have selected Stark for this purpose. Stark appears to have been the most level-headed man among them. After Lord Howe was dead, when Abercromby was trying to make up his mind what to do, when he was considering the question of ordering the assault on the works of Montcalm, Captain Stark told him better than to do it. The result vindicated the judgment of Stark and the judgment of Lord Howe in choosing him for his chief adviser.

At midnight they were on their way again, and when sunrise touched the face of Rogers Rock it showed to the scouts and pickets of Montcalm what the night had brought them—a lakeful of their enemy.

I do not need to describe in detail and in the order of time the military movements that followed. You are familiar with the facts of the reconnoitre of the landing place by Howe and Rogers and Bradstreet; of the landing of the army in the cove and all along the shore; of the retirement of the French from the outposts at the head of the portage, after destroying the bridge at that place, and of the advance of the English army into the woods on the west side of the outlet, with Lord Howe at the head of the right centre column. You have read the story of his sudden fall at Israel Putnam's side, and you can never forget that exchange of sentiment between Putnam and Howe in the presence of the danger that brought him death. They heard shooting in the woods at the left of them. Said Howe, "Putnam, what does that firing mean?" "I do not know," said Putnam, "but with your lordship's leave, I will see." "I will go with you," said Howe. Then Putnam said, "My lord, if I am killed, the loss of my life will be of little consequence; but yours is of infinite importance to this army." Then came the answer: "Putnam, your life is as dear to you as mine is to me, and I am determined to go." And so he went and so he died.

Now, there are two questions about Lord Howe that it is interesting historical work to try to answer. These questions are: Just where was he killed, and where was he buried? The limits of my time here do not allow me to discuss them both, and so I will take the one that seems to be of the most interest at the present moment. Where was he buried?

What is the evidence on this point? Leaving out of view the unverified conclusions of many historical writers, let us examine the original sources and traditions. Of these so far discovered, that I know of, there are ten.

1st. Although last discovered, a letter written by Gen. Abercromby to William Pitt from the head of Lake George, on the 12th of July, 1758. The material paragraph of this letter reads as follows:

"I caused his" (Lord Howe's) "body to be taken off the field of battle, and sent to Albany, with a design to have had it embalmed and sent home if his lordship's relations had approved of

it; but the weather being very hot, Brigr. Stanwix was obliged to order it to be buried."

2nd. The Diary of Surgeon Caleb Rea, a Colonial officer, who accompanied the Abercromby expedition to Ticonderoga and wrote under date of July 6, 1758, the day Lord Howe was killed:

"Lord Howe was brought in and embalmed."

3rd. The Diary of Lieut. Samuel Thompson of Woborn, Massachusetts, a soldier in the French War during the year 1758. An entry in this diary under date of July 8, 1758, the day of the assault on Carillon, apparently written at Fort William Henry, is as follows:

"Saturday. Post came from the Narrows, and they brought Lord Howe to ye Fort, who was slain at their landing, and in ye afternoon there came in 100 and odd men, French prisoners into the Fort."

4th. A letter from a gentleman in Albany to a friend in Boston, published in the Boston News Letter of July 13, 1758, and in Boston Gazette of July 17, 1758. This letter contains the following sentence:

"The body of Rt. Hon. George Visconte Howe was brought to Albany last Monday."

5th. This entry in the Treasurer's book of St. Peter's Church at Albany under date of September 5, 1758:

"To cash rt for ground to lay the Body of Lord how & Pall 5|6|0|."

6th. The Schuyler tradition represented by the statement by Philip Schuyler to Chancellor Kent that Schuyler was appointed to convey the body of Lord Howe to Albany; by the statement of Mrs. Cochran, Philip Schuyler's daughter, to Benson J. Losing, that when, many years afterwards, the coffin was opened at Albany, his hair had grown to long flowing locks and it was very beautiful; and by Mrs. Grant's "Memoirs," in which she says: "A few days after Lord Howe's departure in the afternoon, a man was seen coming from the north galloping violently without a hat. Pedrom, Mrs. Schuyler's brother, ran instantly to inquire the cause. The man galloped on, crying 'Lord Howe was killed.'"

7th. The Lord Howe stone unearthed with the remains of a coffin and the bones of a man at Ticonderoga in October, 1889, and

now preserved in the Black Watch Memorial Library at that place. This stone bears the following inscription:

"Mem of
Lo Howe
Killed
Trout
Brook."

8th. The tradition of the Peterson family of Ticonderoga, which is to the effect that an ancestor of theirs, who was one of Rogers Rangers, lettered a stone for the grave of Lord Howe, and that he was buried on a hill at Ticonderoga.

9th. The Scotch tradition preserved in an account of the vision of Duncan Campbell of Inverawe by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, who said of Lord Howe "that he had so acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiers that they assembled in groups around the hurried grave to which his venerated remains were consigned, and wept over it in deep and silent grief. * * * * And then returned to the landing place, which they reached early in the morning."

10th. The tradition of the Howe family. This tradition is to the effect that Sir William Howe, a brother of George Augustus Howe, and a colonel in the British army which participated in the Battle of Quebec, after peace was declared, went to New York by way of Ticonderoga and Albany, trying to find the remains of his brother to take them to England, and that he failed to find them.

This, then, is a case of conflicting evidence, and the first question is: Is there any theory on which the whole or most of it can be reconciled? There is such a theory and I will state it. When Lord Howe was killed, it was the intention of General Abercromby to have the body transported to Albany and there buried at least temporarily, pending instructions from his relations in England. He issued orders to that effect, sent a messenger to Albany with the news of the death and to make preparations for the reception and burial of the body, and arranged for the transportation of the body through Lake George. These orders and preparations were known to the army, but the weather being very hot, it was found that it was not practicable to carry out these orders and the body was buried at Ticonderoga in the night in a grave that was care-

fully concealed and without the knowledge of most of the army, and those that did know it were instructed to keep the secret.

Now, let us examine the evidence piece by piece and see if this theory is not substantiated. Let us examine first the testimony of Abercromby. I wish he were here to be cross examined. He says, "I caused his body to be taken off the field of battle and sent to Albany with a design to have had it embalmed and sent home if his lordship's relations had approved of it, but the weather being very hot Brigadier Stanwix was obliged to order it to be buried."

Where was General Stanwix? If he accompanied General Abercromby's expedition and was at Ticonderoga, then this statement can be interpreted to mean that Lord Howe was buried here. If General Stanwix did not accompany the expedition and remained at Albany, then General Abercromby intended to be understood that the body was buried at Albany. Although I have had the courteous assistance of the State Historian, Mr. Paltsits, I have been unable to ascertain with certainty where General Stanwix was at the time of Lord Howe's death, but it appears that six days afterwards on the 12th day of July, he was in Albany and wrote a letter to Lieutenant Governor DeLancey, telling him about Abercromby's defeat and retreat. It does not appear from the notice of this letter in the calendar of English manuscripts in the New York State Library that it makes any mention of the burial of Lord Howe, but the letter itself is missing from the files. So far as the evidence goes, it tends to indicate that General Stanwix was not with Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, and until further light on this point, I think we must assume this to be the fact.

Assuming then that General Abercromby meant to say that the body of Lord Howe went to Albany and was buried there, the next question is: What is the credibility of General Abercromby as a witness, and did he have any motive to misrepresent the facts? Who was General Abercromby? He was the commanding general, who, after the death of Lord Howe, sent a courier from company to company to say in the hearing of all his fifteen thousand men that Louisburg was taken by the English, which was a lie, told for the sole purpose of animating the soldiers before the assault on Carillon and offsetting, as far as possible, the effect on them of Lord Howe's death. Abercromby was the commanding general,

who, when his faithful soldiers in obedience to his own fool order, were immolating themselves on the bloody points of Montcalm's abattis, was keeping himself safe a mile and a half away at the entrance to the military road that had been made out of the old Indian carry, where he could transfer himself to the landing on Lake George in a hurry if he needed to. General Abercromby might perhaps have been a soldier himself "if it had not been for the vile guns."

This was the commanding general in whose craven soul originated the panic that turned the army that assaulted Carillon with incredible valor into a disorganized mass of fugitives, leaving their shoes in the mud, their dead unburied and many of their wounded comrades unhelped behind them. This was the commanding general who had his aide-de-camp, James Cunningham, on the evening of the 8th of July, send a letter to Col. Cumming at Fort William Henry, directing him to forward the wounded and the heavy artillery to New York City as soon as possible. Abercromby thought that Montcalm was going to capture Fort William Henry, Fort Edward and Albany, and that the only safe place of refuge was New York City. This is the commanding general who, when there was not the slightest reason for it, when he had still left four times as many men as Montcalm and artillery at hand to demolish the fortress, ordered a retreat and took to his boats on Lake George, burning and destroying equipment and supplies and leaving behind two hundred barrels of flour intact for Montcalm's use. This was the commanding general, who, when he got safely to the upper end of Lake George, issued an order that any soldier should be punished who said anything about Louisburg, or told the truth about the English loss at Ticonderoga. This was the commanding general, who, notwithstanding what John Stark had told him, laid the blame of this disaster on his subordinate officers and said that he was misinformed about Montcalm's defenses.

So much for his credibility. Now, did he have any motive to falsify his report? Let us see. The Diary of Lieutenant Thompson is to the effect that the boat bringing the body of Lord Howe came through Lake George on the 8th of July, and no doubt that was the boat which was intended to carry it. What does this

mean? Why, it shows that General Abercromby left the body of Lord Howe at Ticonderoga in the sultry heat for two days or 36 hours at least before he was ready to start it for Albany. Lord Howe was instantly killed, a young man in the flush of vigorous health, and it is well known that in such a case decomposition advances much more rapidly than in the case of a person wasted by disease. There is little doubt that in the case of the body of Lord Howe, after the two days, decomposition was already observed and that it was apparent that the body could not then be taken to Albany. They, of course, had no ice, and the weather being very hot, the general was obliged to order it be buried. But when Abercromby got to the head of Lake George and had time to think about it, he was afraid that Prime Minister Pitt, with whom Lord Howe was a favorite, if he found out about the two days delay, would think that the remains of Lord Howe had been neglected and not treated with proper respect, and General Abercromby thought that it would not make any difference then with the gallant Howe, but that it might make considerable difference with Abercromby. He felt that he had enough ignominy to bear without that, and that what the Premier did not know would not hurt him. General Abercromby had a motive to falsify his report and he was just the man to do it.

Furthermore, the statement of General Abercromby is incredible on its face. We know that he was untruthful and lacked courage, as cowards usually do. We know that he did not have the respect of his soldiers, and that he deserved the nickname that they gave him of "Old Aunt Nabby Cromby." We know that he was incompetent. But he was not an absolute idiot. General Abercromby had been for many years an officer in the English army. He had seen hundreds of men die in battle and he knew the effect of heat on their dead unburied bodies. It never was his plan, as his language would indicate, after the body of Lord Howe had been kept for two days without ice in excessive heat at Ticonderoga, to transfer it through Lake George, and then seventy miles through the woods to Albany, over such roads and with such means of transportation as they had then, and after it got to Albany have it embalmed and kept without interment for months until the news of Lord Howe's death could be carried to England by one of the slow

sailing vessels of that day, and instructions from his relations brought back. General Abercromby says: "The weather being very hot, General Stanwix was obliged to order the body to be buried." Unfortunately for the credibility of this statement, if it means that this burial was in Albany, the records show that from the 8th to the 12th of July, inclusive, while it is claimed that this body was *en route* from Ticonderoga to Albany, and when it arrived there and when it was buried, and up to the date of Abercromby's report, the weather was not very hot. During those days a cool wave was in progress, following the excessive heat of the time of Lord Howe's death. The 6th and 7th of July seem to have been extremely sultry, but Surgeon Rea, in his Diary under date of the 8th, says: "A clear day. Not very hot. Wind S. W.," and on the 9th, when Abercromby's army embarked for his return, the same diarist says that they "got ready at nine in ye morning and having a fine northerly breeze, we made sales of blankets and tents, and arrived at ye head of ye lake by 7 in ye evening." Under date of the 10th he says "Cool and rain at evening." Under date of the 12th. "A very cold, clear night."

There is another thing about that report which may be significant. Although it has been accessible to the public for many years in printed form when it was published, this paragraph about the burial of Lord Howe was suppressed, and it was in consequence of this that Prof. E. J. Owen, in his monograph on the burial of Lord Howe made the statement that the despatches of General Abercromby do not refer to it.

This report of General Abercromby, it appears, was supposed to be in triplicate. The original, duplicate and triplicate being sent by a different conveyance as such reports were often made when they were to be carried long distances with uncertain means of conveyance. I am informed that these three papers, each bearing Abercromby's own signature, are on file in the Public Record Office in London, but only one of them contains the paragraph about the burial of Lord Howe. Was this one sent to Prime Minister Pitt by a special messenger and intended only for his personal information, or did Abercromby prepare this one first and send it, keeping a copy, and then, with his usual vascillation, fearing that

he had made a mistake, leave this paragraph out of the duplicate and triplicate that were forwarded by other conveyances?

Next, the Diary of Surgeon Rea, in which he says, writing under date of the 6th of July, "Lord Howe was brought in and embalmed." The art of embalming bodies on the battlefield to be sent home was never much practiced before our Civil War. Embalming, as practiced by the English at the time of the French war, was an elaborate and complicated process, which doctors and surgeons generally did not undertake to practice. The embalming that was given to the body of Lord Howe must have consisted only in certain simple applications calculated to delay decomposition only for a short time. That this embalming was nothing effective is indicated by the fact that General Abercromby makes no mention of it whatever, but speaks only of the embalming that he designed to have the body receive at Albany.

Third, as to the Diary of Lieut. Thompson, who says that they brought Lord Howe to Fort William Henry on the 8th of July. It appears from this diary that the diarist was a young man twenty-six years old, and he does not seem to have had a very accurate mind, because, although he was present at the embarking of Abercromby's army for Ticonderoga, he says that the number thereof was 25 thousand and 400 and odd men. He was only ten thousand out of the way. An examination of his diary for the two days immediately preceding this 8th of July, shows that he was very much occupied with his duties and could pay little attention to anything else. His entry for the 6th contains the following: "I was on guard all day. Sam'l Tay took a vomit and was ill with a bloody Flux, and I was full of business all day." Friday, the 7th, he says: "Abijah was sick and took a vomit. I had scarcely time to cook as the Hampshire forces came to us in the forenoon." Although, under a later date, the 10th, he says that in the morning he went and viewed the wounded men, he does not say in his entry of the 8th that he viewed the body of Lord Howe or recognized him. He was only a colonial officer of low rank, and if the body of Lord Howe had actually been there he would not have been invited by the English officers to inspect it. We know from other sources that after the death of Lord Howe the old troubles between the Colonials and the

Regulars broke out again, and the British officers made no concealment of their contempt for the Colonials. No doubt Samuel Thompson and the other soldiers at the head of the lake had heard the report of Lord Howe's death and that his body was to be carried to Albany. If a body was carried ashore from the boat that came through the lake that day, whether of Lord Howe or some wounded soldier that may have died on the way through the lake, it would be apt to be borne on a stretcher and covered with a blanket so that an outside observer would not know who it was; but it would be the most natural thing in the world, under the circumstances, for the soldiers of the camp to infer that it was the body of Lord Howe, and start the report that it was.

This testimony of Lieut. Thompson seems to be nothing but a bit of hearsay.

4th. The Albany letter to Boston, written between the 10th and the 13th of July, and containing this sentence: "The body of of Rt. Hon. George Viscomte Howe was brought to Albany last Monday."

The writer of this letter does not say that he attended the funeral or the burial or viewed the remains. No doubt it was reported in Albany that week that Lord Howe was dead; that his body was coming to Albany and that it was expected on the 10th and this would give rise without fail to the report that it had come to Albany. The writer of this letter was only repeating one of the rumors that filled the air at Albany in that time of excitement and alarm. This testimony is only some more hearsay.

5th. The entry in the Treasurer's book at St. Peter's Church. The page on which this entry is found in this old account book is headed "What cash received," and contains two kinds of entries: One under the formula "To cash collected," under dates about a week apart, which are found upon investigation to be mostly Sundays. These entries undoubtedly represent the weekly collections at the church. The other class of entries are under the formula 'To cash rt," and seem to be receipts for burials. It has been suggested that the abbreviation "rt" stands for the word "returned" and that this entry about Lord Howe "To cash rt. for the ground to lay the body of Lord Howe and

pall, 5 pounds 6 shillings,'' means that this money was paid back by the church because Lord Howe was not actually buried there; but I think this interpretation is untenable because the same kind of entry occurs several times on the same page under different dates of that summer and fall, and it is not likely that the money would have been paid back in so many instances. The abbreviation ''rt.'' no doubt does stand for the word ''returned'' and means cash paid to the sexton or somebody, of which return was afterwards made to the treasurer and the money paid over to him and the dates of the entries probably represent the dates of such return to the treasurer. This would account for the date September 5 being so long after the supposed burial of Lord Howe. This entry in the Church Treasurer's book has every appearance of being genuine and I assume that it is. This entry and the Lord Howe stone at Ticonderoga are the two most important and reliable pieces of evidence in this case. But this entry proves nothing except that preparations and arrangements were made for the burial of the body of Lord Howe at Albany. It falls far short of proving that his body was actually buried there.

6th. The Schuyler tradition. Philip Schuyler's statement to Chancellor Kent was simply that he was selected to accompany the body to Albany. Chancellor Kent does not say that Philip Schuyler told him that he actually did take the body to Albany. It appears that Chancellor Kent supposed that the body of Lord Howe was buried in Albany, but he does not give us the details or circumstances of his conversation with Philip Schuyler. This also proves nothing but that preparations were made to take the body of Lord Howe to Albany.

Mrs. Cochran's statement that when the coffin was opened it was found that the hair had grown to long flowing locks and was very beautiful, is hardly worthy of serious consideration. In this age of general diffusion of scientific information, it is too late to make people believe that any part of a dead body can grow. If my recollection is correct, Mrs. Cochran, daughter of Philip Schuyler, was not born until long after the French war, and so she had no knowledge of her own about this matter.

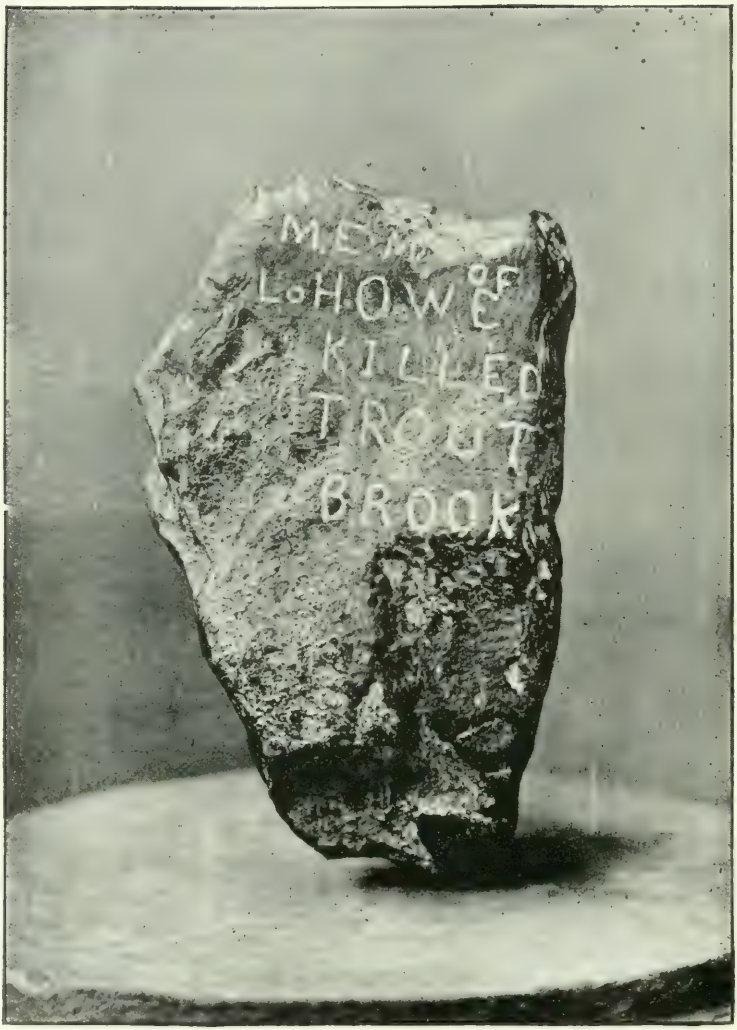
Mrs. Grant's statement about the hatless messenger on horseback no doubt is a recital of a genuine incident and quite likely

he was the messenger that carried to Albany the news of Lord Howe's death, and the order to prepare for the reception and disposition of his body.

7th. The Lord Howe stone:

In October, 1889, a sewer was laid from the Central school building in the village of Ticonderoga northward through South Main Street. The ditch for this sewer was dug on the easterly side of this street between the sidewalk and the roadbed. The ground was stiff clay. It had never, to the knowledge of the residents of that locality, been disturbed before. It was so hard that it had to be dug up with a pick before it could be shoveled. At the depth of four feet or four and one half feet Peter DuShane, who had charge of the digging of this ditch, and was at work at it with his own hands, struck the remnants of a board, and upon further digging the remains of the sides and end pieces of a coffin were discovered with human bones inside of it. This body lay with its head to the west and its feet and legs under the sidewalk, nearly at right angles with the street. At the head outside of the coffin up against it and at the bottom of the grave were two stones, one of them a piece of graphite rock, that is, a stone full of graphite ore; the other, a hard irregular stone, smooth with rounded edges. The two stones were about the same size and neither was quite so large as a man's head.

DuShane was a laboring man who could neither read nor write; but he recognized the graphite in one of the stones and concluded to take it home with him, thinking it strange that it should be found in that place, there being no graphite in that immediate locality. The other stone, encrusted with the clay, seemed to have nothing about it to attract attention and as it was thrown out of the ditch it rolled down the pile of loose earth that had been thrown out before it and lodged under the edge of the board sidewalk. Here it remained for a day or two until DuShane thought that it would be a proper thing to bury the bones again and put back with them the same two stones that he had found at the head of the coffin, and so he carried the second stone home and put it with the other. Immediately after this, he was talking about it with John C. Fenton, the town clerk of the town, who, with many



LORD HOWE STONE
Unearthed at Ticonderoga, Oct. 1889. Now Preserved in Black Watch Memorial

other citizens of the town, saw the bones and the remains of the coffin when they were taken out of the ground, and he asked DuShane to bring the stones to his office, which DuShane did. The second stone was still encrusted with the clay when Fenton took it in his hands. He scraped off some of the clay with his knife and thought he discovered the outlines of a letter. Whereupon, they took the stone to the drug store of Patrick H. Barry close by and washed it under a faucet; but, even then, no inscription was legible. They saw, however, that on the surface of the stone there were some little holes that were still packed full of the hard clay. With the point of his pen knife Mr. Fenton dug the clay out of these holes and the inscription then appeared in five nearly parallel lines across the face of the stone:

"MEM OF
Lo HOWE
KILLED
TROUT
BROOK."

The word "memory" is abbreviated to "Mem" without a period. The word "Lord" was abbreviated in one of the forms used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both in England and America: Capital "L," small "o." The letters are formed apparently by the point of a bayonet or some sharp pointed instrument, hammered against the stone to make small holes or dots in lines for the shape of the letters, with some scratching or cutting to unite the dots in a few of the letters. So Mr. Fenton was the first man who read the inscription. The town clerk immediately called in the Supervisor of the town, Charles A. Stevens, and they both examined the stone and afterwards made affidavit that its present condition was the same, in every respect, as that in which they first saw it. Mr. Fenton was town clerk of the town for many years, and until his death some time after this. He was a lawyer who his neighbors said was too honest to be a lawyer, for he almost always got the suits of his clients settled without litigation. He was a man of strict integrity and of unquestionable veracity. Mr. E. M. Gifford in front of whose house the remains were found, sifted some of the dirt that came out of the grave and found one or two corroded buttons and a bul-

let. After the remains were taken out of the ground the town clerk, Mr. Fenton, took possession of them and kept them in his office in a box for some years, after which they were placed in a box and buried in the school house park, near where they were found at the foot of a large memorial boulder, placed there by Joseph Cook, and a number of the leading citizens of Ticonderoga signed a statement in regard to the discovery of the remains and vouching for the truth of the same.

The bones were incomplete, having the appearance of having been long buried, but the teeth were sound and unworn and evidently those of a youngish man. These remains and this marked stone were found under one of the principal streets of the Village of Ticonderoga in a place immediately adjacent to the grounds of the Central school building. The circumstances of their discovery and the character of the people connected with it preclude the theory of forgery and fraud. But unless this stone is a forgery it ends this discussion and settles this question for all time. No theory can account for that stone, except one or two. It either marks the veritable burial place of Lord Howe or it is a forgery. The critics of the Ticonderoga claim are absolutely shut up to the theory of forgery. They have no other ground to stand upon, and it is a ground that is absolutely untenable. They have as yet produced no evidence of such forgery, except the indirect evidence which has already been discussed in this paper. It is one on the strong proof of the genuineness of this Lord Howe Stone that full faith and credit was given to it at the time of its discovery by all the people of Ticonderoga who were well acquainted with the circumstances of its discovery and with the men connected with it. The officials and leading citizens of Ticonderoga were not frauds and forgers and the people of that town were not all dupes.

8th. The Peterson tradition:

The Peterson family has lived in the town of Ticonderoga for several generations. The story has been handed down in this family that their ancestor was one of Rogers' Rangers, and that upon the death of Lord Howe he lettered a stone for his grave and he was buried on a hill at Ticonderoga. The present representative of this family, Joseph Peterson, is now a man of 78 years old and there are people in Ticonderoga to-day who re-

member that he told this story years before the Lord Howe stone was discovered. Some years before the finding of this stone Joseph Cook erected a marble slab at the mouth of Trout Brook, commemorating the death of Lord Howe. At the time this was done, Joseph Peterson had a good natured dispute with Mr. Cook and told him that it would be more appropriate if he erected this memorial on the hill across the outlet, because it was there somewhere that Lord Howe was buried. Old records show that among the company of Rangers of whom Robert Rogers was the leader, there was a man by the name of Peterson. Mr. David Williams, of Rogers Rock, has the old account book of a sutler who furnished supplies to these rangers, and on one page of this book is an account with one Peterson, a carpenter.

9th. The Scotch Tradition that comes down to us with the story of Campbell of Inverawe. The part of this tradition which is to the effect that the burial took place late at night and the participants in the ceremony returned to the landing, which they reached early in the morning, is most significant. Taken in connection with the significant words of Abercromby about the hot weather and the necessity of burial, it indicates that a decision to bury Lord Howe at Ticonderoga was reached and carried out before daylight on the morning of the great battle, and when the boat spoken of by Lieutenant Thompson was leaving for Fort William Henry.

10th. Last of all, and certainly entitled to as much consideration as any other tradition, is that of Lord Howe's own family. When Prof. Owen wrote his monograph he had a letter from the head of that house at that time, in which he says: "It is clearly proved that the idea of removing the remains was given up for the purpose of burying the same in Westminister Abbey, and this tends to show that there must have been some difficulty in finding where the remains were laid."

It has been asked, why, if Lord Howe was buried at Ticonderoga, General Amherst did not remove the remains when he was here the next year. The answer to this question is easy. The soldiers who were with Amherst were largely different men from those who were with Abercromby. Amherst brought with him

five or six regiments from Louisburgh, and very likely General Amherst had read the original of General Abercromby's report, and supposed that Lord Howe was buried at Albany.

Again, it has been suggested that the name of Trout Brook on the Lord Howe stone is suspicious because this country at the time of Lord Howe's death was occupied by the French and a stream like Trout Brook would not be likely to have an English name, but this is answered by the fact that the English maps made at the time or soon after Abercromby's expedition, have on them the name Trout Brook.

Here, where Lord Howe gave up his life for that British and American cause, which it took the struggles of an hundred fifty years to carry through, his the most priceless of its many sacrifices, on the very spot where his immortality was achieved, between the two lakes, near to the great carry long traversed by the armies of France and England, and war parties, Iroquois and Algonquins, in the midst of a region of picturesque beauty and of a romantic interest that his own fame has helped to create, he has his burial place, as it is most fitting that he should. Fair flower of British gentility, the freshness and fragrance of thy memory, shall never pass in the hearts of those who love the Champlain Valley or the story of North America.

NEW HISTORICAL LIGHT ON THE REAL BURIAL PLACE OF GEORGE AUGUSTUS LORD VISCOUNT HOWE, 1758.

(From Contemporary and Original Sources.)

By James Austin Holden, A. B.

[PREFATORY NOTE.—Owing to his sickness at the time of the October meeting which prevented his personal presentation of this paper, the writer was very fortunate in having it read in his customary acceptable and convincing manner by Sherman Williams, Pd. D. The necessity of giving the paper out of turn however, and the brief time which could be allowed for its rendering, made it necessary then to omit some parts and to condense others.

Since the annual meeting the writer has received from his expert searchers in England, and from several other sources, copies of official documents and letters which, while they confirm the writer's theories, throw an entirely different and new light on the whole affair. For the sake of historical accuracy, these papers have necessitated the recasting and rewriting of part of this article. This evidence being entirely new and vitally important, so far as now known, must be the excuse for thus changing the form of this paper, and the decision to present it.]

Some cynic has said, "all fiction is not history, but most history is all fiction." In the sense that all historical works reflect necessarily the individual opinions, prejudices, ideas and conclusions of their respective writers this aphorism is undeniably true.

It is the knowledge of this peculiarity in "us poor, frail, weak mortals" which compels and requires all historians to furnish facts, proofs and legal evidence to substantiate their claims. Permitting them only the field of tradition in which their imaginations may roam at will, to find material with which to garnish and adorn the bald, unromantic and dry details of fact.

As long as history shall be written therefore, just so long will there be two sides to every question, two parties to every discus-

sion, two rival bodies to espouse and battle for their supposed rights and historic prerogatives.

Realizing, then, that it is not often in these days that one is privileged to announce a real historical discovery, especially on a subject supposedly worn threadbare by generations of writers of history, it is with much pleasure that I offer to the Association, treasure trove, which up to the present time has remained unnoticed, or at least unused by other historians.[1]

Five years ago in presenting to the Association my Monograph on "The Half-Way Brook in History,"[2] I called attention therein to the first authenticated and recorded evidence of the bringing of Lord Howe's body to Lake George on the initial stage of its journey to Albany. It was through the publication of that evidence, that the clew was secured which finally led to the historical discovery (using the word in the sense of bringing to notice something before unknown or unperceived), which is given to this Association as the trophy of a successful hunt.

We have listened at this meeting to the eloquent and splendidly prepared paper on George Augustus, Lord Viscount Howe. In this monograph, it is neither the province nor purpose of the writer, to present the biography of that beneficent, magnanimous, capable but ill fated gentleman, who was repeatedly called "the idol" as well as "the soul and honor of the British Army" of that day. It would be a work of supererogation to describe his association with the army under Abercrombie in the spring of 1758,[3] or to more than touch upon the events leading up to the fateful July 6th. On

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1 In looking up this question, a careful investigation of four hundred or more historical works, pamphlets, monographs, and newspapers, covering this period, including supposedly authoritative papers on this topic, exhausting all then known references, made this statement one of fact. Since this paper was ready for the printer, however, I find that Kingsford's *History of Canada*, (London, 1890), IV, p. 165 (note)—quotes a part of this matter I have found, but makes no other use of it, so that my statement still holds true.

2 Transactions N. Y. S. Hist. Assn. VI. pp. 169-189.

3 For the impress which this amiable, talented, accomplished and promising young officer made on those with whom he came in contact, especially the provincials, consult the journals of the various colonial officers referred to herein, also Mrs. Grant's "*Memoirs of an American Lady*," (ed. 1846, ch. XL) pp. 175-180; Dudley Bean's Storming of Ticonderoga in *The Knickerbocker*, XXXVI, No. 1 (July 1850), pp. 1-14; Grahame's *United States of North America* IV, p. 29; Hutchinson's *Province of Mass.* (ed. 1828), III, p. 71; Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, VI, pp. 296-297.

Courtesy of S. H. P. Pell. From Photo Given Him by Descendants in Howe Family

GEORGE AUGUSTUS, LORD VISCOUNT, HOWE. (1724-1758)
Killed at Ticonderoga July 6

June 8th he took command of the troops at Fort Edward, and on June 20th camped at the Half-Way Brook with three thousand men. Here for two days he received reports from Major Rogers and associated with Stark, Putnam and the other colonial officers, making his dispositions for the battle which was to come.[1] Two days afterward he moved forward with his command to the head of Lake George encamping on the former site of Fort William Henry. During all the time that he was with the army, he endeavored to inculcate by personal example, in the regular forces, the lesson that Great Britain to the present day has apparently never been able to learn, that success perches only upon the banners of that army which observes, adapts and respects the war manners and tactics of the people with whom it fights.[2]

It is stated that he adopted the costume and customs of the provincial rangers and among other things, according to a letter dated from camp May 31st, 1758 "sacrificed a fine head of hair of his own as an example to the soldiers, so that not a man is to be seen with his own hair."[3] This authority also states that it was cut short as it could be with the shears. I mention this here as it has its bearing on what comes a little later on.[4]

The army remained at Lake George until the early morning of July 5th. The triumphant procession down Lake George of sixteen thousand men, with their nine hundred bateaux and one hundred and thirty whale boats, filling the lake from shore to shore, in one grand, colorful, martial display; their encampment that night at Sabbath Day Point till nearly midnight; the landing

[1] Roger's *Journals*, (Hough's ed.), Munsell, (1883), p. 116; *Memoir of John Stark*, (Concord, 1860), p. 433; My "*Half-way Brook in History*," p. 174; *Reminiscences of the French War*, (Concord, 1831), pp. 68-69.

[2] As Kipling so well puts it in "The Lesson," written because of the Boer War,

> "Not on a single issue, or in one direction or twain
> But conclusively, comprehensively, and several times and again,
> Were all our most holy illusions knocked higher than Gilderoy's kite,
> We have had a jolly good lesson, and it serves us jolly well right."

The Five Nations, (Outward Bound ed.), pp. 113-115. The moral of which is, that the lesson taught Great Britain in the campaign of A. D. 1758, she had not yet learned in A. D. 1899.

[3] M. Dudley Bean in *The Knickerbocker*, (July, 1850), pp. 10-11 who quotes the *Boston News Letter* of June 22, 1758.

[4] See Watson in appendix.

at the Burnt Camp,[1] forever afterwards to bear the name of Howe's Landing, on the late morning of the 6th; the disembarking of the army, following Howe as he leaps ashore in the name of England and King George; the parade of enthusiastic, high-spirited troops who, drawn up in parallel columns marched in the early hours of the afternoon toward the fort, all need but the barest mention at this time.[2] We are all more or less familiar with the ordinary accounts of the unfortunate engagement in which the gallant and brilliant young soldier lost his life. These mostly taken from English sources naturally reflect somewhat the views of the British officers of that day.[3]

In order, however, to bring out more clearly the points the writer desires to make, he finds it necessary to recount as briefly as may be, in accordance with the written evidence recently discovered in this case, the story of Lord Howe's death from a new view point.

The Landing Place, afterwards known by his name as stated above, is approximately one third of a mile north, or towards the foot of the lake, from the present Lake George steamboat landing at Baldwin, in a small cove with a sandy beach, whose water approach has two feet average depth, and three feet depth to and about "Prisoner's Island," a third of a mile away.[4] Some authorities having referred to "Cook's Landing" confusing it with Howe's

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1 The Burnt Camp or *Champ Brulè,* was the place where M. de Contrecoeur encamped in 1756, *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 894; C. Van Rensselaer's *"Centennial Address on the Capture of Ticonderoga,* 1759," (Phila. 1859), p. 18.

2 For description of the pageant down the lake and events antecedent to Lord Howe's death, see Bancroft, (ed. 1852), IV, pp. 300-301; Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe,* (Frontenac ed.), pp. 298-300; M. Dudley Bean in *The Knickerbocker,* (July 1850), pp. 14-15; W. Max Reid's, *Lake George and Lake Champlain* pp. 152-153; Butler's *Lake George and Lake Champlain* (Albany 1868), pp. 204-207; Holden's *Queensbury* p. 321; Dwight's *Travels,* III, pp. 364-365.

"'Old Capt. Patchin' who was the first permanent settler within the limits of Warren County, and who had a short time previously, been sent forward as one of the advanced guard to examine the facilities for landing on Sabbath Day Point (where he afterwards settled) has often been heard to say as I have been informed, that the approach of Abercrombie's army was one of the most magnificent and imposing spectacles he ever witnessed." A. W. Holden *Mss.* p. 409.

3 See Appendix for Bibliography of the Campaign.

4 S. R. Stoddard's *Standard Chart of Lake George,* (1910), Hydrographic Survey of 1906-7-8.

Fort William Henry
Fort Edward
Albany Post Road
Miller's
Fort Miller
Moses Kill
Fish Kill
Hudson River
Lake George
Lake Champlain
Otter Creek
Batten Kill
Hoosick River
Walloomsac R.
Bennington
Fort Dummer
Hinsdale's Fort
Fort Massachusetts
Hoosack
Pittsfield
Shirley
Pittsfield
Pittsfield
Pittsfield

Landing, a letter to A. A. Heard, Gen. Passenger Agent of the D. & H. brought the following communication addressed to him, which is inserted for its local value to some future historian.

"* * * The old terminal at Lake George was what was always known as Cook's Landing. The Lord Howe Landing is in a little bay one and one-half miles south of Cook's Landing, refer to Stoddard's new chart, which will give you the situation as I understand it. So far as my records indicate here, the railroad between Fort Ti and Baldwin was completed and used for the first time during the season of 1875, and that year the present terminal at Baldwin was established, although for several years after that the company maintained their shipyards at the Old Cooks Landing Dock, and it was there that both the Strs. Horicon and Ticonderoga were constructed and laid up for the winter, and it was to the old dock the crews always went to bring out the boats in the spring, and to put them up in the fall.

I have a picture in my office of the old Str. Minnehaha[1] taken at Cooks Landing, the northern terminus on Lake George. I can't say what year that was, but the larger boats, the Horicon and Ticonderoga, never used Cooks Landing as a terminal as previous to the time of their building the present terminal at Baldwin was constructed and consequently the precise landing place of Lord Howe and his army was about one and a half miles south[2] of the old northern terminal on Lake George."[3]

At the beach was a comparatively level place, which was all needed to marshal 16,000 men into some say three and others four columns, which according to different writers was done before the march into the forest was begun.

A word about the local topography of the route may be per-

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[1] Began service in 1857 in place of the "John Jay" (burned in July 1856), and was retired in 1876. "Her hull rests in the little bay north of Black Mountain point." Stoddard's *Lake George and Lake Champlain*, (1910), p. 46. Nelson's *Guide Lake George and Lake Champlain*, (London 1866), has several oil colored views of this boat to face title page, p. 8, etc. Also see Id. "*Our Summer Retreats*," (N. Y. 1858).

[2] "South" of course means towards the head of the lake. The distance from Cooks Landing to Baldwin being about one mile in a straight line from Howe's Cove.

[3] Letter from D. A. Loomis of the Champlain Transportation Company.

tinent here. Ticonderoga, then also known as Carillon[1], lay at the tip of the peninsula stretching into Lake Champlain, washed on one side and end by that lake and on the other side by the Outlet of Lake George into Lake Champlain.[2]

The waters of Lake George tumble into Lake Champlain through a natural rocky canal of varying levels, with two distinct falls, having rifts, and rapids between; the difference in the surfaces of the two lakes being about two hundred and forty three feet.[3] The "Outlet" as it is called, like an exaggerated question mark stretches its narrow length for about four miles from Howe's Landing to the peninsula of old Fort Ticonderoga;[4] navigable for small boats below the lower falls and requiring a short portage between these and the so called "upper falls." Here and there were bridges at this time for the use of the French occupants of the fort, which were promptly destroyed on the approach of the English forces. A sort of military road led from the cove on the left bank of the outlet, a short distance, crossing the stream by a bridge, thence on the right bank in a straight line to a second bridge a mile from the fort. As another writer pictures it at this time:

"To the east of the second bridge, on both sides of the river, were morasses and low meadows, and just below it a waterfall and sawmills."[5]

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1 Carillon translated means of course "a chime" or "chime of bells." Some authorities claim that Cheonderoga a variation of Ticonderoga means "brawling waters" and connect the two names from this. The music of the waters of the outlet, tumbling over the rocks and stones, must have appealed to some imaginative Frenchman who gave the old fort this poetic name. As a matter of fact however "Cheonderoga" or properly "Tjeonderoge" simply means "Between two lakes" (Ruttenber's *Indian Names, Our Proceedings,* VI, pp. 71-72). On T. Pownal's Map, (London 1776), it is said to mean "Three Rivers" (Holden's *Queensbury* p. 26). It is "a compound Te c'ungha ro ge, meaning literally two (not three) rivers, flowing into each other." (E. B. O'Callaghan in Dawson's *Hist. Mag.* for November, 1859, pp. 346-347). The "Iroquois name of Ticonderoga meaning the Place of Rocks dividing the waters; it being at this point that Lake George separated from Lake Champlain;" (H. R. Schoolcraft in *Hist. Mag.* for June 1860.) From this expert testimony, it is only clear that it does not mean "Brawling" and never did.

2 Map U. S. Geological Survey (ed. Oct. 1905), *New York, Vermont, Ticonderoga Quadrangle.*

3 Verplanck Colvin in his *Topographical Survey of the Adirondacks* for 1874-1879, (Albany 1880), p. 249, gives the altitude above the sea of Lake George as 343 feet and Lake Champlain 99.311.

4 U. S. Geographical Survey, *New York, Vermont, and Ticonderoga Quadrangle.*

5 Sloane's *French War and the Revolution,* (London 1893), pp. 66-67.

Except for the portage paths and war trails, the clearing at the saw mills, and near the fort, the ground was entirely covered by virgin forest, in which the ring of the woodman's ax had not as yet been heard. The heights were covered with a dense almost impenetrable growth of white and yellow pines, hemlocks and drooping sharp needled spruces, while the hardy white oaks and ash trees clung to the valleys, the whole forming a bewildering and formidable protection for any fortress, from even a small squad of men, to say nothing of a magnificent army.[1]

Another writer has well said of the attempt to force a way through these trackless wooded areas which then covered the greater part of the country:

"Then there was the stifling heat of the primeval forests. Our present day notion of forests is diametrically opposed to old-time experience. To us, the forest is a popular symbol of restful coolness; formerly they were exhausting furnaces in the hot season, where horses fell headlong in their tracks and men fainted from fatigue. We wonder sometimes that pioneer armies frequently accomplished only ten or twelve miles a day, sometimes less. But * * * the stifling heat of the becalmed forest easily explains both slowness and wearing fatigue. It was the heat that all leaders of pioneer armies feared; for heat meant thirst * * * Many a crazed trooper has thrown himself into the first marsh or swamp encountered and has drunk his fill of water as deadly as any bullet."[2]

On the west side of the Outlet was a rough trail partially cut through the forest, but of so scraggy and rude a character that experienced guides were needed to conduct parties using it to and from the fort. Following this trail for about two miles and a half, the coureurs du bois or the voyageurs of the inland lakes would come to a large stream whose clay stained waters here meet the foaming cataract of the upper falls, about two rods below the falls just after their descent of 102 feet from the lake beyond.[3] This

[1] See Flavius J. Cook's *Home Sketches of Essex County,* (1858), pp. 11-12, also his *Centennial Address* (Ticonderoga Historical Society ed. 1909), pp. 62-63. (In after years dropping his first name he became widely known the world over as Dr. Joseph Cook.)

[2] Archer Butler Hulbert, *Portage Paths* (*Historic Highways of America* VII), pp. 44-45.

[3] Cook's *Home Sketches of Essex County,* pp. 14-15.

run afterwards to be celebrated in local history, has its rise in the range of mountains lying partly in Hague, Warren County, and partly in Ticonderoga, Essex County, in a fresh marsh near Lost Pond, on the 1300 foot level on Bull Rock Mountain; running thence southerly and easterly between that mountain and Trumbull Mountain in Warren County, where it turns pursuing a serpentine course northerly, until near Three Brothers Mountain it twists and runs easterly with many windings, until it enters the Outlet as before stated, just below the upper falls.[1] This brook, to which at that time the English had given no name, and which was known to the French by the name of River Bernetz, Bernes or Bernè, traversed a valley in after years noted for its grandeur, beauty and sylvan attractiveness. Within its purling waters, the early settlers found plenty of food and sustenance; at its brink the wild deer of the forest, so plenty as to be a nuisance to the struggling farmer, the black bear, and the still wilder and fiercer cats of the mountains, slaked their thirst.[2]

This then was the situation of affairs on the morning of the fatal 6th. The landing had been effected without opposition. The outpost had retired, leaving their camp in flames, and their supplies of provisions for the delighted provincials, one of whom says "we recovered a grat deele of wine and brandy shepe torkes & hens,"[3] which were welcomed as a desirable change from the usual monotonous camp diet, concerning which Dr. Rea says, "I've eat this Summer one meal of Squash, one of Turneps, one of Potatoes & one of Onions & no more."[4] It took considerable time for the host of soldiery to disembark and prepare for the work ahead of them, but the men went at it in high spirits, good humor, and the expectation of speedy victory, with no premonition of the disaster to come. As Alexander Colden writes to Francis Halket, brigade major with Gen. Forbes at Carlisle: "We had nothing in View but Glory and Victory with sight of the French fort, and

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[1] U. S. Geological Survey, *New York, Vermont, Ticonderoga Quadrangle and New York Paradox Lake Sheet.*

[2] Cook's *Home Sketches,* pp. 14, 33-36, 122-124; Id. *Centennial Address,* pp. 66, 86. Bean's *Ticonderoga,* p. 18. Smith's *Essex County,* pp. 378-379.

[3] Journal Cornet Archelaus Fuller, *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.* (July, 1910), p. 213.

[4] Dr. Rea's Journal, *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.,* (July-Sept. 1881), p. 204.

yet by experience I to my Grief find how little dependance one must make. All worldly expectations in short is all a Chimera."[1]

Finally formed in columns according to the military custom of those days,[2] this large body of troops began their slow and toilful march through the dense forest. With the Outlet on their right they bore to the west to prevent being flanked by the French. Rogers and his men having been sent in advance to scout and clean the path of small parties of the enemy, and prevent possible ambuscades.[3] Despite the frequent scouts made by Rogers and his Rangers in the three preceding years, in some of which Lord Howe was said to have participated,[4] and in spite of the fact that rough maps of the region secured by Rogers and his followers, were in possession of the English,[5] the locality seemed to be unfamiliar to the leaders. The army had scarcely entered the dark and gloomy woods through which a ray of sunshine could hardly have penetrated, even if the day had not been cloudy and lowry, and undoubtedly muggy, before the troops were in confusion. Stumbling over the rocky soil, breaking their way through the tangled undergrowth, tumbling over the fallen logs and forest debris, the touch of elbow and close formation required by European tactics, on level Continental battlefields, was destroyed in less time than it takes to tell about it. The guides became bewildered and lost their way. The entire army became uneasy and panicky. To lighten their burden the men threw away the provisions they were carrying and their extra accoutrements.[6]

Such was the condition, when about four o'clock the French outpost, under command of M. de Trepezec of the Bearn regiment, which deserted by its Indian guides, but under the guidance of M. Langy "an old bush-ranger" was making a detour to reach the fort back of the English forces,[7] unexpectedly met the advancing English lines. Shots were exchanged and the moment the firing was heard, Lord Howe who was at the head of the right

1 *Boquet Papers,* Add. Mss. 21, 640, p. 151.
2 See "*A Dialogue in Hades,* (Quebec 1887), pp. 28-29.
3 *Reminiscences of the French War,* (Concord, N. H., 1831), pp. 69-70.
4 Bean's "Storming of Ticonderoga," *The Knickerbocker,* (July, 1850), p. 4.
5 *N. Y. Col. Doc.,* X, p. 726.
6 *Reminiscences,* pp. 67-68.
7 *N. Y. Col. Doc.,* X. pp. 722, 738, 757, 845.

center column, pressed forward with the Rangers, to ascertain the cause of the firing. The scene of the skirmish was on the rising ground halfway between the Landing Place and the French mills. Not far from the spot where Rogers with his Rangers, had established themselves early in the day.[1] At the moment the first fire was received the troops acted badly. Lord Howe, in spite of every remonstrance, insisted on advancing.[2] Almost at the first volley, he fell, shot through the breast, and expired instantly. That wireless telegraphy which is ever in use at times like this, conveyed at once, from man to man, from rank to rank, and from regiment to regiment the sad news "Lord Howe is dead." Dismayed and disheartened, panic seized the army. An eye witness says: "Entire regiments flung themselves one atop of the other, and even the General narrowly escaped being dragged off in the confusion by the fugitives."[3] Rallied by their officers and by the steadiness of the Rangers, the desire for flight was succeeded by a lust for revenge and De Trepezec's detachment of three hundred and fifty was surrounded, part taken prisoners, their leader mortally wounded, and the balance of the detachment killed.[4] It has been stated that Lord Howe was so near to the soldier who shot him, that he could almost grasp the barrel of his gun. But before he could spring forward and turn it aside it had been discharged its contents tearing its way through the unfortunate nobleman's body.[5] A writer in the Boston Gazette says that Captain Moneypenny, the British brigade-major who was with Lord Howe, shot down the officer who committed this deed.[6] The skirmish lasted from four o'clock until about eight. As one chronicler puts it in the quaint language of the time.[7] "We had a very smart ingagement the fire was so smart for sometime that the earth trembled we Killed and took about 300 hundred Droue them back again. Left Hutchinson and myself took thre frenchmen preseners the engagement held

1 Hough's ed. *Rogers' Journals,* p. 118a.
2 *N. Y. Col. Doc.,* X. p. 735.
3 *Penn. Arch.* III, p. 472, et seq.
4 *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, pp. 747, 845.
5 B. C. Butler's, *Lake George and Lake Champlain,* (1869), p. 210.
6 *Boston Gazette,* Monday, July 17, 1758.
7 Cornet Fuller's *Journal,* pp. 213-214.

THE
Boston-
AND
COUNTRY
Gazette,
JOURNAL.
MONDAY, JULY 17, 1758.

Courtesy of Rev. Joseph Hooper

LORD HOWE'S BODY BROUGHT TO ALBANY

Last Column. Third Line From Bottom

until all most son down we brott in weth the gard one hundred persons. Our general and our Cornel and som thousand ded not com in that night, com the next morning very early with more preseners."[1]

On account of the approach of darkness orders were issued by General Abercrombie, for the army to remain under arms that night. The next morning the dispersed and scattered force, disheartened by the death of Lord Howe, provisionless from having thrown away their rations, tired out from an all night vigil, and being in the boats all day on the 5th, were ordered back to the Landing Place for re-formation, food and rest.[2] With the exception of Colonel Bradstreet's detachment, and possibly Roger's Rangers, both detailed for special duty the next morning, here the army remained until the afternoon of the 7th, when it was advanced, and without incident or accident this time, and with better knowledge of the ground, passing over on the bridges rebuilt by Bradstreet's detachment, reached the French Mills on the other side of the Outlet, where they encamped, for the night. Our chronicler[3] disposes of the incident in this manner.

"Friday ye 7 the army marched from the Landing our Rigemeint marched on the west sid of the lake holted Lay down to rest before dark orders came for to march on. we marched threw a Large brook uery bad to pas about half the Rigament got to the meils

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1 The prisoners were placed on the island near the landing since called, on Lake George, Prisoners' Island. Tradition has always had it, that owing to the shallow water and sandy bottom there, the prisoners on the night of the 6th took "French leave" by wading ashore and so escaped. However an English officer writing in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (for 1758, p. 445), says under date of July 9 at Fort William Henry; "The 7th * * * * at night they ordered my company to march along with them; but being seen by Col. Delancey, he sent Col. Laroux to forbid me. Shortly after I was ordered, with my company, to guard the prisoners to this place, and to hasten up and convoy the artillery forces which had been left behind, and which the army was very much in want of. I sailed in the evening * * *. The 8th I brought all prisoners, which were one Captain, six subalterns, and 145 men here [that is, Fort William Henry]. The prisoners were afterward forwarded to New York, under charge of Capt. Jeremiah Richards of the Massachusetts forces. (Butler's *Lake George and Lake Champlain*, pp. 210-211). This effectually disposes of the legend about the escape of the prisoners, at least en masse.

2 *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, X, p. 726. Letter from Col. Oliver Partridge, *Israel Williams Mss.* Mass. Hist. Soc. Library, Dr. James Searing's Narrative Battle Ticonderoga, *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Pro.* (October, 1847), p. 20.

3 Cornet Fuller's *Journal* p. 214.

(Mills) I was last and lay Down with the other part of the Reg vary wet and cold."

Another diarist referring to this says:[1] "July ye 7th we marcht a little afore Sun Set and we waded over a river to join the battallion and we had got about half way and was Lost and we Coold Not find them and we Stood to arms all Knight and the Next Morning we marcht to Join the Battallion."

With the attack of the English forces, their over-whelming defeat on the 8th, and inglorious retreat through Lake George to Fort William Henry on the 9th, we are not concerned so far as this article goes.

At this time the writer desires to present to the Association the newly discovered facts referred to, in the beginning of this article.

First, however, the writer is pleased to submit the accompanying letters from Captain Alexander Moneypenny,[2] who was with Lord Howe at his death and took charge of his remains. So far as now known, they have never before been published. Their importance is the excuse for inserting them in the original article.

The history of these letters, and their discovery is an interesting episode in the hunt for evidence in this matter. Soon after returning from the excursion of the Association last fall, correspondence was begun with the Hon. Howland Pell and his cousin Stephen H. P. Pell regarding certain points which the writer wished to clear up, and some valuable suggestions were made by them leading to the securing of some new proof. On looking over his papers Stephen H. P. Pell found some letters from Lord Terence Browne, son of the Marquis of Sligo, a descendant of the branch of the Howe family to which Lord Howe belonged, containing copies of family papers relating to the latter's death and proposed burial.

1 Journal of John Noyes, *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.*, (January, 1909), p. 74.

2 Alexander Moneypenny the writer of these letters, was appointed captain, August 29, 1756. In February, 1757, he was assigned to the 55th Foot and served in America under Lord Louden. "He was one of the brigade majors in this and the succeeding campaign." His name occurs in the *British army lists* as major of the 22nd Foot in 1760, and lieutenant colonel of the 56th Foot in 1768, '72, '73. Burke's *Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, (London 1852), in a sketch of the Moneypenny family of Pitmilly, County Fife, states that Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Moneypenny, of the 56th Regiment died in 1800. *Putnam's Journal*, Dawes ed. p. 64; Librarian of Congress (Chief Bibliographer) letter Dec. 15th, 1910, Robert H. Kelby, Librarian *N. Y. Historical Society* letter, Dec. 8th.

Letters to that family brought a reply from Lord Arthur Browne, who for several years has had charge of the family papers and who writes in part as follows:

"About a year ago I made copies of the only papers I had discovered bearing on Lord Howe's death and sent them over to my brother Lord Terence Browne then in New York and I understand he gave them to Mr. Pell. They consisted of one or two letters from a staff officer and a contemporary rough sketch of the battle.

This is all I have found up to the present, but as there are still many papers unread, it is possible I may find something more. I do not however think it possible, as practically all the Howe papers despatches etc. were destroyed about 100 years ago in a fire in which the library at Westport House [Westport, Ireland] was burnt down. The papers of the Admiral Lord Howe had just been received from the executors then, and it is probable that any documents bearing on General Lord Howe were with them, but they had not even been removed from the chests in which they travelled when they were burnt—so that I cannot say for certain.

If I should come across anything more I will let you know. I am sorry not to be able to give you any more information."[1]

Through the kindness of H. L. Bridgman of the Brooklyn Standard Union, the writer had previously taken up the matter of tradition, and existence of papers with Vice Admiral Assheton G. Curzon-Howe, K.C.B., in command of His Majesty's Naval Station, Portsmouth, England, who informed him that he knew of no family tradition regarding the disposition of Howe's remains, and who also told him of the destruction of the family records at Westport House. Nor in a subsequent conversation with the head of the house, and other members of the family, was the Admiral able to obtain further information than is supplied here. He says "It is extraordinary considering his long life and very active share in events of that period that very few papers of Admiral Howe, or of General Howe are extant."[2] This would seem to do away with the legend that a tradition exists in the Howe

1 His letter Dec. 13th, 1910.

2 His letter of November 21st, 1910. [Since the foregoing was put in type, the sudden death of Admiral Howe from apoplexy on March 1, 1911, has been reported. In his death England lost a fine officer and kindly Christian gentlemen and America a good friend.]

family, that a resultless search for Lord Howe's remains was made by his brothers or kinsfolk, at any time after his burial.[1]

The Moneypenny letters are as follows:

Copy of a Letter from Capt. Moneypenny to Mr. Calcraft, Dated Camp at Lake George, 11th July, 1758.

Sir:

It is with the Utmost Concern, I write you of the Death of Lord Howe. On the 6th the whole army landed without opposition, at the carrying place, about seven miles from Ticonderoga. About two o'clock, they march'd in four Columns, to Invest the Breast Work, where the Enemy was Encamp'd, near the Fort. The Rangers were before the army and the Light Infantry and marksmen at the Heads of the columns. We expected, and met with some opposition near a small River, which we had to cross. When the Firing began on part of the Left Column, Lord Howe thinking it would be of the greatest Consequence, to beat of the Enemy with the Light Troops, so as not to stop the March of the Main Body, went up with them, and had just gained the Top of the Hill, where the firing was, when he was killed.[2] Never Ball had a more Deadly Direction. It entered his breast on the left side, and (as the Surgeons say) pierced his Lungs, and heart, and shattered his Back Bone. I was about six yards from him, he fell on his Back and never moved, only his Hands quivered an instant.[3]

[1] A letter received from Lord Arthur Browne under date of January 17, states, that none of the family papers have as yet been published, and that there is still much to examine. It is to be hoped that a possibility of printing these valuable records, which Lord Browne expresses in his letter, may become a reality in the not distant future.

[2] This letter of Capt. Moneypenny effectually disposes of the theory advanced by some of the earlier historians, that Lord Howe was shot in the back. Hutchinson in his *Hist. Prov. Mass. Bay,* (London 1828), p. 71, says: "Whether shot by the enemy or by his own people, was uncertain. One of the provincial colonels present supposed the last, not merely from the disorderly firing, but from a view of the body; the ball entering as he said, at his back, when he was facing the enemy." As the effect of the shot is so clearly described by Capt. Moneypenny, the wound might have that appearance, the bullet tearing its way through all the soft tissues, and shattering the back-bone, then going out the back. But the proof is clear he was shot in the breast, and as clearly as anything of that sort can be at this late day, by the enemy.

[3] In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1760, an English officer severely criticized the Provincials for their lack of discipline, disobedience of orders etc. A New Englander replying to the charge quotes and denies the statement that "the regulars are afraid of being shot down by the provincials in a panick." He says in refutation, as to the provincials, "Lord Howe was their darling, and others might be named who were growing daily in their esteem and admiration." Pp. 171, 224.

The French party was about 400 men, 'tis computed 200 of them were Killed, 160, whereof five are officers, are Prisoners; their Commanding Officer, and the partizan who conducted them, were killed, by the Prisoner's account, in short, very few, if any, got back.

The Loss our Country has sustained in His Lordship is inexpressible, and I'm afraid irreparable. The Spirit he inspired in the Troops, the Indefatigable Pains he took in forwarding the Publick Service, the Pattern he show'd of every Military Virtue, can only be believed by those, who were eye witnesses of it. The Confidence the Army, both regular, and provincial, had in his Abilities as a General Officer, the Readiness with which, every Order of his, or Ev'n Intimation of what would be agreeable to Him, was comply'd with, is almost Incredible. When his Body, was brought into Camp, scarce an Eye was free from Tears.

As his Lordship had chose me to act as an Aid de Camp to Him, when he was to have commanded on the Winter Expedition, which did not take place, and afterwards on his being made a Brigadier General, had got me appointed Brigade Major, and I had constantly lived with him since that time, I took upon me to write the following letters, which, I hope will not be disapproved by his family.

Letter to Dr. Huck at Albany, Dated, Army Near Ticonderoga, ***7th July.***

Lord Howe's body is sent to you,[1] and you are desired by the General, Brigadier Gage, and Capt. West to Use your Utmost Endeavour to preserve it in such a manner, that it may be sent Home to England; If that is not possible his servant, Will[m] Kemp will move it to New York to be buried their by the Lieut. Governor. Whilst his Body is at Albany it is to lye in the House of Dr. Oglevie.[2]

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[1] Writing about the Flatts, between Albany and Troy, at this time the residence of Madame Schuyler, W. D. Schuyler-Lighthall says: "It was to this house that poor Howe was brought back dead from Abercrombie's attack on Ticonderoga, which would have resulted very differently had he lived." Katherine Schuyler's *Godchild of Washington,* (1897), p. 21.

[2] The Rev. John Ogilvie was at this time the rector of The English Church at Albany. Dr. Hooper's *History of St. Peter's Church,* pp. 85-104.

Letter to the Hon'ble James De Lancey, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of New York, Same Place and Date.

Sir:—

Lord Howe having been unfortunately Kill'd yesterday, His Body after being preserved with all the Care this place will allow of, is sent to Albany where Dr. Huck is Desired to Embalm and preserve it, in order to be sent to England.[1] The General, Brigadier Gage, and Capt. West beg the Favour of you, to Receive it into your House at New York, and if Dr. Huck writes you that it is in a Condition to be sent Home, to put it on Board the first good Ship.[2] If Dr. Huck writes that it cannot be sent Home, They beg you will give him a proper Burial attended by yourself, the Council, and a few of the principal Inhabitants of New York, and any Sea or Land Officers that may be there, in the Chancil of the English Church.[3]

Letter to Mr. Hugh Wallace, Merchant, at New York.

Sir:—

Please to answer all demands of Mr. Wm. Kemp, Lord Howe's serv't, for whatever money he wants to pay all demands on his Lordship in this Country, and his own and the other servts expenses in going Home. His Bill to you for the above money on Mr. Calcraft will be duly paid.

I wrote a letter also to Mr. Kemp, telling him that, Brigadier Gage, and Capt. West were of opinion, not to sell any of his effects, and that he was therefore to carry Home what was valuable and what he thought the Family would be desirous of having, and

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1 Up to the time this article was put in print, no information regarding Dr. Huck's presence in Albany had been obtained. From the evidence to follow, the body was buried at once, on its arrival.

2 S. H. P. Pell, thinking the body might have been taken to New York, and there been buried under the chancel of the old English Church, has had the *Records of Trinity Parish* searched but with no results. (His letter of Dec. 6th). Dr. Hooper writes (under date of Dec. 12th) that researches in this direction will be fruitless.

3 These specific directions, to take the body to Dr. Ogilvie's house in Albany, that is the Church of England Rectory, and to bury the body in case of necessity under the chancel of the English Church (Old Trinity) in New York City, are presumptive proofs that Weise's *History of Albany* is in error when it states p. 331, "By some it is said that the corpse was interred in a vault in the English Church, by others in the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church." Lord Howe's servant would see to it, that the remains were interred in the English Church and not in that of any other denomination.

Divide the Remainder amongst his servants. As soon as the Enemy were Repulsed after his Fall I took his Pocket Book and papers out of his pockets, wch are sent home by his servt Thomas. I did not take Time to pull his Watch out and soon after it was gone.[1] Ten guineas reward are advertised for it if found it will be sent Home. The money in his Pocket was given to the men who carried him out of ye Field. I hope to hear from you acknowledging the Receipt of this lre. If the loss of the Publick was not so great I wou'd say something of my own. As this is intended only for Lord Howe's Family, Don't mention the Attack of the French Lines on the 8th.

(Signed) AL. MONEYPENNY.

To any unbiased and unprejudiced person these letters will settle the question of Lord Howe's burial place. Capt. Moneypenny, it will be noticed says positively in two letters that the body *is sent to Albany,* not that "it will be," or "may be" or "is expected to be," but is. Had it been buried on the field he certainly would have so stated it. But to resume our proofs:

In 1849, the State of New York began the publication of Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York. The historian John Romeyn Brodhead as the editor was sent to Holland, England and France, to secure accurate and literal copies of the papers relating to our early colonial history, on official file in those countries. The documents in Dutch and French were translated by that capable and efficient scholar, E. B. O'Callaghan, LL. D. And it is upon these records that most historians, unable to have access to foreign sources, have relied for their facts and inspirations.

In compiling Vol. X, which is the recognized storehouse of authority for the records of the events of the French and Indian War, Dr. Brodhead took his copy of the official report made by

[1] It seems incredible that there were such contemptible ghouls with this army, but we know from the journals of those days, that camp executions and lashes on the bare back were most common, for all sorts of crimes, ranging from robbery to desertion. The Journal of a Provincial Officer Dawson's *Hist. Magazine,* (August, 1871), says under date of July 25th "There was one Regular of the 44th Regt. hanged for stealing 3 old Buckels from men out of my Company. 2 Regulars received 1,000 lashes each for stealing" p. 117. *Dr. Rea's Journal,* (Salem, Mass. 1881), says "the man's name was Hone, and that he was a notorious thief," pp. 36-37.

Major General Abercrombie to Secretary Pitt, from the London Gazette Extraordinary, dated August 22, 1758. This same version of the report was also copied in the Annual Register or Compleat History of the Late War, published in Dublin in 1766.[1] This History in turn being taken from the Annual Register,[2] for 1758, a work published each year in London, which gave the story of the progress of the world during the year that had gone. It would show apparently therefore, that this was the popular acceptance of General Abercrombie's own description of the battle. It seems however, that this was not in reality the official report made to Secretary Pitt, nor the one filed by him among the official records of his office.

Having occasion to correspond with William Cutter, then Librarian of the Public Library, of Woburn, Mass., he called my attention to a letter from Abercrombie to Pitt, informing the latter of a skirmish at the Half-Way Brook, whose history I had just prepared, which was referred to in extenso, in a work entitled "Correspondence of William Pitt with Colonial Governors, Etc.," published by the Macmillan Co., in 1906. Procuring this work, I found it had been edited under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, by Miss Gertrude Selwyn Kimball, of Providence, R. I.[3]

The book was examined with interest and pleasure and found to be a most valuable acquisition to present-day historical reference shelves. In looking at the letters relating to the Campaign of 1758 I noticed in Vol. 1, p. 297, what at first resembled the well known and often used report of Abercrombie to Pitt dated at Lake George, July 12th, after the battle. Before it was read through however, I found it was not the same, for it contained the information *that Lord Howe's body had been sent to Albany.* The evidence of so important a discovery could at first hardly be credited. Taking it up with Miss Kimball, she kindly furnished me with the

1 Supposed to have been written or compiled by J. Wright. Edmund Burke was said to have edited its earlier issues. It is referred to as a standard by Winsor.

2 Fourth edition, (London, 1764).

3 The writer regrets to note the death of Miss Kimball which occurred in Providence on June 20, 1910. A brief note of appreciation of her historical work appears in the *American Historical Review* for October, 1910, pp. 183-184.

address of the copyist, Miss Ethel M. Lomas, of London, to whose judgment and ability, Miss Kimball bears witness in the introduction of her book, also in letters to me, all of which I find have in no degree been exaggerated, in my own experience. Owing to a press of other matters, it was not until the winter of 1909-10 the idea of proving the non-burial of Lord Howe at Ticonderoga was taken up seriously. Correspondence was started with Miss Lomas, asking her to verify the letter of General Abercrombie, as copied by her, and to compare it with the one usually used and which appears in the New York Colonial Documents, Vol. X, p. 725. This she did and I have her affidavit as sworn to at the American Consulate-General in London, that the passage to which I refer is contained in the body of the despatch without interpolation or addition. In fact our very capable Secretary, Mr. Richards, who in the summer of 1910 visited Scotland and England for material for his paper, has seen and copied the same paragraph, which was new to him as it was originally to me. These papers are contained in the Public Record Office in London, where I am told there is to be found much that has never been touched by American historians, which might cause the pages of many a history to be revised, were it not for that provincial self-sufficiency which clothes the personal appreciation of many a historian, not only here but abroad.

This particular letter of Abercrombie's is to be found in *America and West Indies*, Vol. 87, pp. 297-302,[1] and the new part is as follows:

"I caused his body to be taken off the field of battle, and sent to Albany, with a design to have had it embalmed, & sent home, if his Lordship's relations, had approved of it. But the weather being very hot, Brig^r Stanwix was obliged to order it to be buried.

The Army, as I observed before, being dispersed & night coming on fast, I collected such Part of it as were within my Reach, & posted them under the Trees, where they remained all Night under Arms."[2]

At this time Fort Edward marked the advanced post of civilization to the northward. Schenectady and Sir William Johnson's

[1] See Appendix for letter in extenso.

[2] This part is entirely omitted in the letter published in *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 725.

colony on the west, were the first encroachments on the territory of the Long House. A few scattering settlements between Albany and Fort Edward provided a way of communication to the south, while to the eastward along the valley of the Hoosack protected by a chain of forts, was a broad and well defined trail, over which the provincial soldiery marched to the aid of their British brethren. The provincials, especially those from the Massachusetts Bay settlement, were great chroniclers and many diaries of the participants in this fight and this campaign, are to be found in the New England towns.[1]

In examining these old journals it is interesting to note what is considered by one man of the most concern, as compared with the ideas of another soldier on the same day, or during the same battle. The New Englanders' being mostly taken up with their own petty affairs or self-doings, their ills and woes, or religious welfare. For instance in the journal of John Noyes, published by the Essex Institute in January, 1909, while the fatal skirmish is mentioned, the death of Lord Howe is not alluded to in any way. Nor is it in the Lemuel Lyon Journal, published in Poughkeepsie, in 1855. Nor in the Joseph Holt Journal, published in the New England Historic Genealogical Register, Vol. X, 1856. Following the *ad impossible* reasoning of some historians, we might conclude from three such utterly disinterested witnesses, that he was not killed, but unfortunately that was not the case. These journals are exceptions in this regard however, as it is through one of the New England diaries that we obtain the proof that Lord Howe's body did not remain on the field at Ticonderoga as claimed.[2]

1 See Bibliography, in Appendix.

2 Out of a number of the comments on the sad affair of the 6th the following are taken, to show how the soldiers felt: Rufus Putnam says, "His death struck a great damp on the army. For my own part I was so pannic struck that I was willing to remain with the boat guard, which in the morning I should have ben very unwilling to have been detailed for." *Memoirs*, p. 23. The Rev. Daniel Shute, a chaplain, says: "Upon Lord Howe being slain the whole army were halted, * * * and July 7, lay still upon ye same account. But 18,000 men not able to bring him to life. (My chest arrived at Schenectada) "*Hist. Col. Essex Inst.* (April, 1874), p. 137. Dr. Caleb Rea says: 7th "* * * I can't but observe since Lord How's Death Business seems a little Stagnant;" his *Journal* (F. M. Ray ed.), p. 25. Cornet Archelaus Fuller says: "About 2 a clok the general and Lord How marched with a great part of the army tords the fort threw the woods wheare the french and Ingons had wated by the accont we haue,

In Sewell's History of Woburn, Mass., published in 1868, there appears in Appendix IX, the Diary of Lieut. Samuel Thompson. This was reprinted with annotations by William R. Cutter of Woburn, in 1896. Samuel Thompson was a rather unusual personage for those days, and of a higher type than the ordinary soldier. To him is attributed the discovery of the apple later known as the Baldwin apple, and a monument to him in honor of this discovery has been erected by a Woburn Historical Association. Of Samuel Thompson, Mr. Cutter states, that he was "an esquire, a deacon, an indefatigable clerk, a surveyor" in which capacity he laid out the Middlesex Canal, followed ever since by railroad engineers as the best route through that section of country, "and held most of the highest offices in the town, besides performing much important town business." The testimony of this man, an officer, an educated man, and a gentleman, cannot therefore be easily impeached or controverted, nor can it be overthrown by any one's ipse dixit, or disposed of by a wave of the hand. Until found false it must stand as the truth.[1] Lieut. Thompson was a part of the great expedition of 1758 and had been left as part of the rear

theare was about thre thousands they killed Lord How the first shot. Som others whiche was Lamente very much thru out the army," *Col. Essex Inst.* (July 1910). In looking over the papers in the British Museum my searcher ran across the following extract from a letter of Col. G. Washington to Col. Boquet, from the camp at Fort Cumberland, July 21st, 1758. "We participate in the joy felt for the success of his Majesty's Arms at Louisburg etc. and sincerely lament the loss of that brave and active Noblemen, Lord How." *Boquet Papers,* Add. Mss., *21,* 641, p. 17.

Alexander Colden also writes under date of July 17th, 1758, "Unfortunately the Brave Lord Howe was killed in the beginning of this brush. *Add. Mss.* 21,643, p. 154. And again under the same date "Ld Howe's death was a bad affair but he exposed himself too much." *Add. Mss.* 21,643, p. 151.

An officer writes to Capt. Knox, speaking of the loss sustained, it was "trifling, however, in comparison to that which the army sustained by his Lordship's fall, who was killed at the first charge, and is universally regretted both by officers and soldiers;" Knox's *Journal,* I, p. 149.

Col. Oliver Partridge writes "to our unspeakable loss Ld How was shot dead on ye spot." Col. William Williams says "The disappointment * * * (unless Ld H. was worth 400 of them which we killd and captd the Time he was killd) is inexpressible * * . The death of the above man was an unspeakable loss. *Israel Williams Mss.* Mass. Hist. Soc'y Library.

1 It has been intimated that this officer's evidence should be thrown out, because it is not shown he viewed the body, and that it is "heresay"—if it be hearsay, it comes under the well known rule of *res gestae* making it competent here.

guard to look after the camp at the head of the lake. Under the date of Saturday, July 8th, is the following entry in his diary:[1]

"*Post came from the Narrows: and they brought Lord How to ye Fort, who was slain at their landing; and in ye afternoon there came in* 100 *and odd men, French prisoners, into the Fort.*"

There could be no mistaking the body by Lieut. Thompson, for that of another man. His lordship's person was well known to every soldier in the provincial army. But even had it not been known, in the afternoon there arrived at the head several boats containing the prisoners taken at Birney River belonging to the detachment of M. DeLangy, whose officers and crews would confirm the news and who knew that the body was that of Lord Howe. Another chronicler, Capt. Asa Foster did not go with the expedition, remaining at the head doing other duty. He says under date of July 8, confirming the arrival of the men: "150 prisoners sent up taken at the advanced guard at Ticonderoga and 121 were taken into our stockade and guarded all night."[2] The presence however of Major Schuyler at the English encampment, would make the non-recognition of the body an impossibility.

Thus is corroborated General Abercrombie's statement that he had the body taken from the field. This evidence also confirms the statement made by W. C. Watson in his "History of Essex County,"[3] "that the next day a single barge retraced the track of the flotilla bearing the body of the young hero, who but yesterday had led its brilliant pageant." We are told that Phillip Schuyler then major and deputy commissary was detailed, at his own request, to accompany the body of his dear friend and associate to Albany.[4] Judge William Hay in his "Historical novel on

1 Sewell's *History of Woburn, Mass.*, pp. 547-549; William R. Cutter's *Diary of Lieut. Samuel Thompson, Woburn, Mass.*, (Boston 1896), p. 9.

2 Id. p. 9, *Gentleman's Magazine* (1758), p. 445.

3 See Appendix for full extract from Watson covering this point.

4 Benson J. Lossing's *Life and Times of Phillip Schuyler,* (N. Y. 1883), I, p. 153. Id. *Field Book of Revolution,* (1851), I, p. 119. Whatever Mr. Lossing's faults as a historian, he had free access to the Schuyler family records, letters, papers and mss., and was so intimate with the family as to know all the traditions, including the oral statements of Schuyler's daughter Mrs. Cochran of Oswego, who gave him much valuable information. (*Field Book* I, p. 119). His statements therefore can safely be relied upon in this particular case.

the Burgoyne Campaign," says the selection was an honor equivalent to being the bearer of an announcement of victory.[1]

Dr. Sherman Williams of this Association in looking up another matter, ran across the following, bearing on this point, which he kindly furnished the writer:

"In 1828, when he was president of the New York Historical Society, Chancellor Kent gave an adddress in which, speaking of General Phillip Schuyler, he said: "He was with Lord Howe when he fell by the fire of the enemy on landing at the north end of the lake, and he was appointed (as he himself informed me) to convey the body of the young and lamented nobleman to Albany where he was buried with appropriate solemnities, in the Episcopal Church."[2]

In all the history of his long and active life, devoted to the advancement and interests of his country, Phillip Schuyler was never known to shirk a duty or fail to carry out a detail of service. It is neither probable nor likely that he failed in this case to perform the sad task of carrying the body of Lord Howe to Albany.[3] And any argument to the contrary is mere speciousness, a fallacy or a use of that branch of logic called "The Irrelevant Conclusion," better known as the "Argumentum ad hominem."[4]

In Prof. Owen's monograph[5] appears one of the most remarkable arguments for any cause I have ever seen. He says (p. 12), referring to the subsequent attacks on convoys made on the Lydius or Fort Edward road by Montcalm's scouting parties, in one of which, near Fort Ann, Putnam was captured; "such removal of

[1] Judge William Hay of Glens Falls, and Saratoga, famous in the early days of the last century as a jurist, and local historian, author, poet, publisher and contributor to the press, Dawson's *Magazine* etc., b. 1790, d. 1870. (Holden's *Queensbury,* pp. 45-46). In 1859 he furnished to the *Glens Falls Republican* scattering chapters of a proposed semi "*Historical Novel on the Burgoyne Campaign,* full of local history which the writer fortunately has in his possession. Unfortunately his design of fuller publication was never carried into effect.

[2] *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col.* (2nd Series 1841), I, p. 20.

[3] Baxter's *Digby's Journal,* (Albany 1887), pp. 241-243 has an excellent appreciation of General Schuyler. See also *A Godchild of Washington,* p. 39.

[4] Jevon's Logic (ed. 1882) p. 178 says "This fallacy is in truth the great resource of those who have to support a weak case. It is not unknown in the legal profession, and an attorney for the defendant in a lawsuit is said to have handed to the barrister, his brief marked "no case, abuse the plaintiff's attorneys."

[5] His *Burial of Lord Viscount Howe,* p. 12.

the body to Albany was not practicable, in view of the danger attending the same. * * * It is a matter of history that the wilderness between the lake and Fort Edward was continually traversed by bands of Indians and French in search of plunder and scalps down to a period as late as the final evacuation of Ticonderoga by the French in Amherst's campaign. It would therefore been manifestly hazardous to have attempted to convey the remains to Albany, requiring a stronger detachment for a guard than could well have been spared at the time." The utter ridiculousness of such a statement is immediately apparent when we remember that between the 9th and the 12th the wounded of Abercrombie's army had been removed to Fort Edward, and Albany,[1] and that strong guards had been placed at Fort Edward, Fort Miller, and Half-Way Brook by the general's orders.[2] It is true that later, on July 20th and again on July 28th attacks on the English and provincials stationed at Half-Way Brook[3] were made by the French rangers, resulting in considerable loss to the forces of Abercrombie, but at the time of the defeat at Ticonderoga, Montcalm did not pursue the English and his reasons for not doing so are quoted in full in New York Colonial Documents, Vol. X.[4]

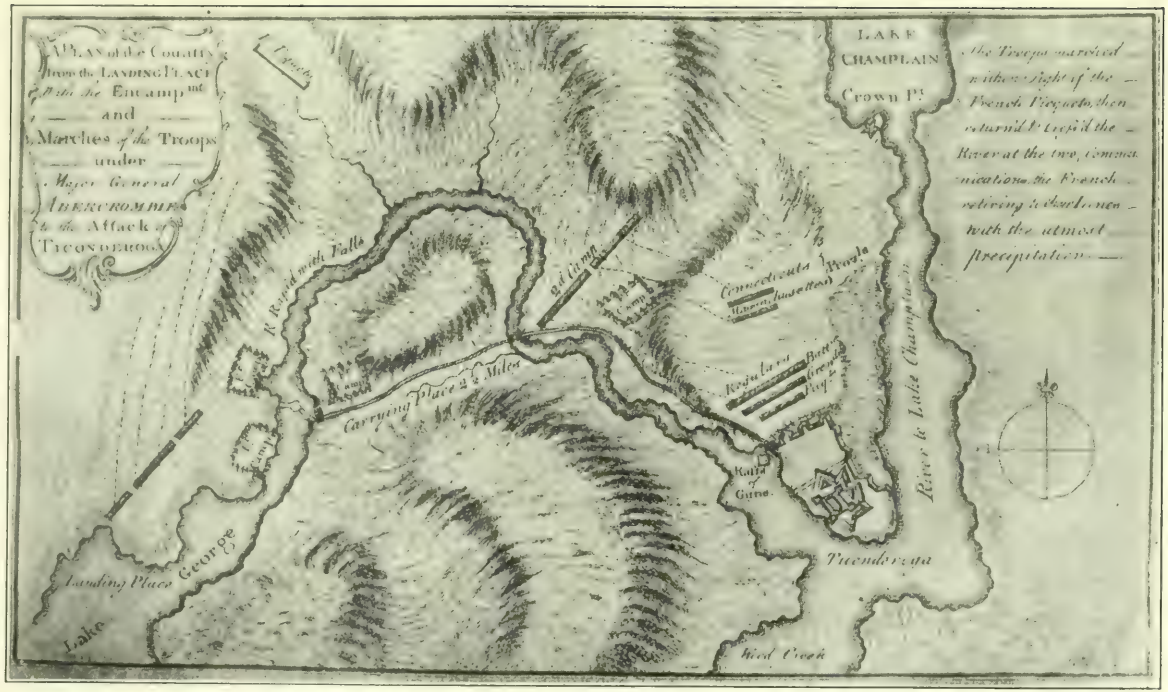
In recapitulation then, up to Thursday, Oct. 3, 1889, the facts in the Lord Howe matter stood as follows: He was killed according to the letters and authorities quoted herein about four o'clock, on the afternoon of July 6th. The accompanying soldiery, most of whom were provincials and rangers, thrown into a rage over his death, had avenged it so far as possible by the practical annihilation of De Trepezec's (or Trepezee's) force, between three and four hundred in number. The rest of the English army badly confused, dismayed by the loss and upset and bewildered by the dense forests, were in disorder. According to his official report to Secretary Pitt, General Abercrombie had caused the body to

1 Papers Charles Lee, *Col. N. Y. Hist. Soc.* (1871), I, p. 6 et seq.; Knox's Hist. Journal, I, p. 145.

2 Miss Kimball's *Cor. of Wm. Pitt,* I, pp. 316-327.

3 My Half-way Brook in History, *N. Y. State Hist. Assn. Pro.* VI. pp. 169-189. See also *Dr. Rea's Journal,* pp. 34-35, 39-41; Cleaveland Journal, *Col. Essex Inst.,* (July, 1871), pp. 190, 193-195, Cornet Fuller's Journal, *Col. Essex Inst.,* (July, 1910), p. 216, Journal John Noyes, *Col. Essex Inst.,* (Jan. 1909), pp. 74-75.

4 See pp. 757-764.


A PLAN of the Country from the LANDING PLACE to the Encampt and — and — Marches of the Troops under — Major General ABERCROMBIE to the Attack of TICONDEROGA
LAKE CHAMPLAIN
Crown Pt
The Troops marched with the Right of the — French Picquets, then returnd & crossd the — River at the two Communications the French — retiring to their Lines — with the utmost — precipitation —
R. Road with Falls
Carrying Place 2 Miles
Connecticuts Brigade
Regulars
Batteau Creek
Ruins of Guns
River to Lake Champlain
Ticonderoga
Landing Place
George
Lake
Mud Creek

From an Old Print

SCENE OF BATTLE JULY 8. 1758

be removed from the field of battle, and it had been taken in charge by Captain Moneypenny, according to his letters. The army being dispersed and night coming on fast, the general had collected together what men he could and posted them under trees where they remained all night under arms. The next day an escort started with the body in a single barge for the head of Lake George.

Depending upon wind and wave, and with good oarsmen in the rude barges or whale boats of those days, it would take a trifle over ten hours to reach the head a distance of thirty and one-half miles, with all things favorable and no rests.[1]

On Lake George such a trip now is considered an all day's task for a good oarsman in a light boat.[2]

In 1805, Elkanah Watson, traveled over the lake in a batteau rowed by four men, starting early in the morning. The party coursed down the lake, entering the Narrows in the afternoon, and making Sabbath Day Point at sun down. Here they camped for the night and went on into Lake Champlain the next day.[3] It is probable in the case of Lord Howe, that the boat bearing the remains did not start early on the 7th as it reached Fort William Henry on the morning of the 8th, according to Lieut. Thompson. The usual camping or resting places at that time, as well as during the Revolutionary War, were Sabbath Day Point, Fourteen Mile Island,[4] in the Narrows, Diamond Island,[5] three miles from the head, which Rogers was occupying as an advanced post for his scouting purposes,[6] or Long Island.

1 It apparently however was usual then to take two days for the journey, for we find the English officer in charge of the French prisoners starting the night of the 7th, and reaching the head the next day. (*Gentleman's Magazine* (1758), p. 445. In the following year, 1759, Rufus Putnam describes a disagreeable trip with two boats, men and some horses up the lake to the head, in early December. They had to camp for the night, probably at what is now Halfway Island, and next day with a heavily loaded boat, the other having to be abandoned, reached Fort George a little after sunset. (*Memoirs*, pp. 29-30.)

2 Letters R. J. Brown of Bolton, former County Engineer, (Oct. 22, 1910), and C. A. West, Lake George (Oct. 21, 1910.)

3 *Men and Times of the Revolution*, p. 352.

4 Horatio Rogers' *Lieut. Hadden's Journal*, (Albany 1884), p. 104.

5 Holden's *Queensbury*, p. 457. DeCosta's *Lake George*, p. 121.

6 Dr. Rea's Journal, *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.*, (1881), pp. 200-201. *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 946. The Journal of A Provincial Officer, Dawson's *Hist. Mag.* under date Aug. 24th says: "Making oars for the sloop, the guard att halfway brook relieved 300 regulars 500 Provincial troops to guard on Dimond Island and relieved." p. 119.

As soon as the batteau reached the head, a messenger under flying seal, was dispatched post haste to Albany with the news. The effect of the receipt of the intelligence from the bare-headed hurrying messenger, on Madam Schuyler, is too well known to require but passing mention here.[1] From evidence unearthed by Miss Diver in London, we find that General John Stanwix received the news on Sunday, July 9th, for he writes to Lieutenant Governor DeLancey at New York, on that date, from Albany at midnight, as follows:

"As affairs have not turned out so prosperously as we had wished, and that it may perhaps be necessary to raise the Militia, I am to desire that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you will order them to be raised, and yourself proceed here Forthwith, to give the necessary directions for raising those in these Quarters. As this is pressing I shall not enter into a Detail of what has happened, being in hopes to see you as soon as possible.

Poor Lord Howe is Killed, the General on that occasion very justly says: 'All the advantages we have gained is nothing in comparison to his loss, his Excellent Qualities as a Soldier, as well as in every other respect is sufficiently known. I have had such assistance from him that I both feel and lament his Loss in a particular manner.' "[2]

The foregoing is evidently the letter from Gen. Stanwix to Lieutenant Governor DeLancey referred to in the following despatch to Governor Denny at Carlisle, Pa., written by Lieutenant Governor DeLancey and enclosing General Stanwix's communication of the 9th. It is equally evident that this is not the letter of General Stanwix to Lieutenant Governor DeLancey dated July 12, which is missing from the State Archives, which might have explained why the body was buried in Albany.

"New York, 12 July, 1758.

Sir:

I received the Letter of which the inclosed is a Copy yesterday in the Evening. I have by the advice of his Majesty's Council laid an Embargo on all Vessels except Coasters until Further or-

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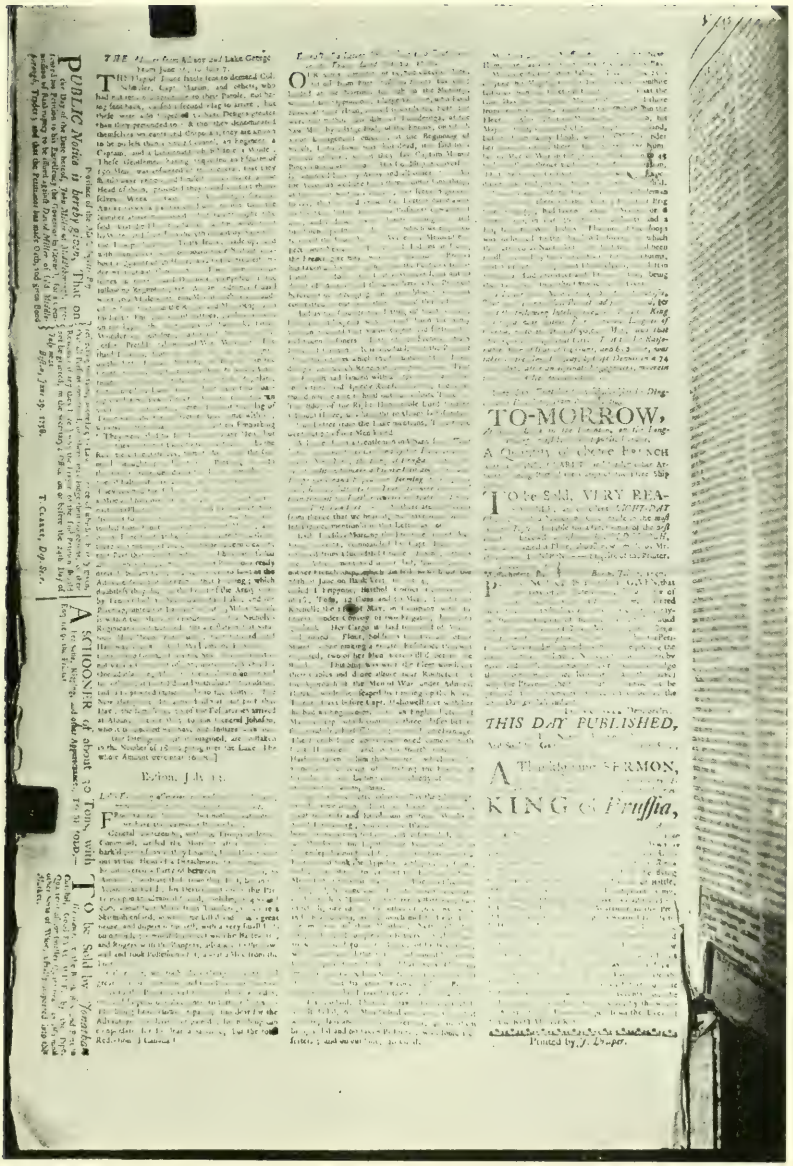
1 *A Godchild of Washington,* p. 50, Munsell's *Annals of Albany,* III, pp. 158-159.

2 *Boquet Papers,* Add. Mss. 21,640, p. 77.



Courtesy of Rev. Joseph Hooper

BOSTON NEWS LETTER
Lord Howe's Interment Second Column

ders, hoping that you will think it expedient to take the like Measure until we shall be able from further Intelligence to judge of the state of our Army. I am just setting off for Albany.

P. S. Lord How was Killed in the skirmish on the Landing in which we gained some advantage, having taken 140 Prisoners, eight of whom are Officers. But were in attacking their advanced Post, our Affairs went ill, The Particulars we Know not, otherwise than is hinted in Genll Stanwix's Letter."[1]

As soon as possible after the body was received at the head of the lake, a rude bier was prepared, and escorted by a detachment of soldiers, the dead hero was carried to Fort Edward. Rev. Joseph Hooper states in a recent letter that in the privately printed letters of the Shippen family, there are two treating of the Ticonderoga defeat. In the one of July 20, 1758, it is written, "Lord Howe is certainly dead and his body brought to Fort Edward." Judge Grenville M. Ingalsbe, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Association, writes me that he has heard his grandfather tell the story that *his* grandfather, Captain Ebenezar "Ingoldsby" as it was then spelled on the military rolls, was a member of the military escort which went with the body on its way to Albany. From Fort Edward the body was conveyed by batteau to Albany, where according to the letter of Abercrombie, Gen. Stanwix found it necessary to have it buried, further embalming being an impossibility. According to the traditions in the Schuyler family, and other old families of the city of Albany, Lord Howe was buried with military honors in the chancel of the then English Church, the St. Peter's of today.[2]

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[1] This DeLancey letter from the *Bouquet Mss.* in the British Museum, is practically identical with the one described in *Calendar of N. Y. Hist. Doc.* (English) p. 691, copy of which was furnished me by Peter Nelson, Assistant State Archivist. An extract from the Stanwix letter of July 12, will also be found on the same page.

[2] Munsell's *Collections of the History of Albany,* I, pp. 390-391, 445-446, II, pp. 13, 14. Ibed, *Annals of Albany. Return of Abercrombie's Army,* II, p. 60. Tuckerman's *Life of General Phillip Schuyler,* pp. 60, 61. Mary Gay Humphrey's, *Catherine Schuyler,* p. 59. Butler's *Lake George and Lake Champlain,* (1869), pp. 220-222. Mrs. Bonney's *Historical Gleanings,* I, pp. 22, 157. See also Hough's ed. *Pouchot's Memoir's,* I, p. 112, note from Williams, *Vermont,* I, p. 505. Also note Hough's *Roger's Journals,* p. 119 where it is stated "Remains were probably removed to England after demolition of church in 1802." The evidence is all against this theory however.

The Colony of Massachusetts Bay erected a monument to his memory in Westminister Abbey, an unusual mark of respect from Puritan colonials.[1]

The English Church at Albany was built in 1715 and demolished in 1802. At this time, the remains of twenty-four persons buried under the old church, were reburied in a trench along the north foundation wall of the new edifice. It was at this time that the inspection of Lord Howe's remains was made by Elkanah Watson.[2] In 1859 the second church was torn down and the present St. Peter's church erected. The Albany Journal of March 30th, that year, has the following on the subject:

"This morning the remains of a double coffin was discovered, and in it were found the bones of a large sized person. That these were the remains of Lord Howe, there can be little doubt. Two pieces of ribbon, in a good state of preservation were found among the bones, which are supposed to have bound his hair together. Lord Howe was killed at the battle of Lake George, on the 6th of July, 1758, over one hundred years ago. There are persons now living in this city who distinctly recollect the fact of their removal from beneath the English Church, as it was then called, to the grounds of the present St. Peter's. It is alleged by them that the coffin was covered with canvas, and that saturated with tar; that it was opened, and exhibited the hair in a good state of preservation, dressed in the fashion of the day."[3]

We have neither time nor space here to go more fully into the matter of the Albany proofs. That ground having been thoroughly and convincingly covered by Dr. Hooper.[4] Suffice it to say, that on the erection of the new St. Peter's, the body of Lord Howe found under the former church, was reverently deposited awaiting the day when earth and sea shall give up their dead, "under the vestibule of the present edifice, being enclosed within a brick wall which forms part of the foundation of the vestibule."[5]

1 See Appendix, for description of the erection of this memorial, also see photograph showing same taken especially for this publication, so far as is now known this is the first cut of this monument to appear in an American historical work.

2 See Dr. Hooper's proofs also extract from W. C. Watson's *Hist. Essex Co.* in Appendix.

3 Munsell's *Col. Hist. of Albany,* I, p. 445.

4 See in Appendix.

5 Hooper's *History of St. Peter's Church,* p. 524.

Now comes the claim of Ticonderoga to be considered as the real burying place of Lord Howe. I will not take your time by going into this claim at any length. The ground has already been thoroughly, plausibly and well covered by Mr. Wicks in his admirable paper, whose premises once granted, would leave no room for argument, and by the paper presented before the Albany Institute in January, 1893, by Edward J. Owen, A. M., since deceased as I am informed. The facts facts briefly stated are these:

On Thursday, the 3rd of October, 1889, some laborers while digging a sewer trench in front of the E. M. Gifford place in Ticonderoga, about opposite the High School, found a partially decayed coffin, containing alleged human remains, at whose head was a lump of black lead, and a triangular shaped stone on which was rudely cut, indented or scratched these words:

MEM
OF
L^{O} Howe
KILLED
TROUT
BROOK

The find then created a mild historical sensation. Ticonderogians and others claimed, and have insisted since, that the grave was Lord Howe's, and the remains those of that lamented nobleman. The battle of historians over this point has continued from that day to this. At the time Editor Tefft of the Whitehall Chronicle claimed the stone was intended for some L. O. Howe,[1] and had nothing whatever to do with Lord Howe. Judge James Gibson of Salem, one of the best informed local historians of this region, stated positively, that there were no tenable grounds for the assumption that this was the grave of Lord Howe.[2] The writer of this article, then local editor of the Glens Falls Times,[3] went over the story with his father, the late Dr. A. W. Holden, Queensbury's historian, who while he received the discovery with an open mind, referred to the fact that in his large library of Americana, the authority was all the other way. Grave doubts as to the truth of

1 *Whitehall Chronicle,* (Oct. 5, 1889.)
2 *Salem, N. Y. Review Press,* (Oct. 18, 1889.)
3 His article in *Glens Falls Daily Times,* (Oct. 22, 1889.)

the matter were likewise cast on it by the Troy and Albany papers of that day.[1]

An examination of a photograph of the stone has convinced me that it can not be contemporaneous with the period under discussion. One of the strongest arguments made by Prof. Owen is, that Joseph Peterson, then of Ticonderoga, claimed that his great grandfather Peterson, who was a stone cutter by trade, was the one who lettered this stone, and put it in the grave to mark it, and also that he was a member of Rogers' Rangers. This was told to Joseph Peterson by his grandfather Ephriam Peterson, who at the time was ninety-two or ninety-three years old. So his memory might easily have been, and undoubtedly was, faulty.[2]

The stone betrays itself in several particulars. In the first place, the expression "In Mem" or "In Mem of" was not commonly used until just before the Revolution. In fact it was most uncommon as the testimony of a number of experts on old epitaphs, and my own researches show, appearing on but a few head stones out of thousands, anywhere in this country.

"Here lyes" or "lies", or "Here lyeth" was the usual and ordinary form of beginning an epitaph on any tomb or grave stone up to about 1765 or 1770. The exceptions where the words "In Memory of" were used, before these dates, are so rare as to be noticeable for their rarity.[3]

[1] See *Troy Telegram*, (Oct. 21, 1889) and *Troy Press* of same date, and year.

[2] Prof. E. J. Owen's Monograph, *Burial of Lord Viscount Howe* strongly pro Ticonderoga, read before *Albany Institute*, (Jan. 3, 1893), p. 26.

[3] For an epitaph of this same year 1758, with "Here lyes" see *Stark's Memoir*, p. 10. Consult also the *New England Hist. and Gen. Reg.* (for Oct. 1847 and July 1848), or their Vol. XVI, (1862), pp. 81, 258, 260, 337, or *Mass. Hist. Soc. Pro.* XVII (1879-1880) p. 241. For specimen epitaphs, out of fourteen noticed in the first mentioned periodicals, one only (in 1792) was "In Memory of." Miss Lomas writes "that the attendants in the British Museum state "Here Lyes" was the commoner form." The following American experts, in letters to me, also bear witness to the ordinary and common use of "Here lyes" and the uncommon and rare use of "In Memory of:" Dr. Samuel A. Green of the Mass. Hist. Society, Boston; George Francis Dow of the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; and Geo. H. Evans, Librarian Woburn Public Library, Woburn, Mass., all of whom are generally familiar with the old burial places and old monuments of their own localities and New England. Two instances of later use of the form "Here lyes" i. e. in 1760 and 1817, are to be found in *Hist. Mag.* (Dec. 1861), p. 372. The New Haven Colony Hist. Soc'y., in its Papers III, (New Haven, 1882), pp. 471-614, gives 951 inscriptions on tombstones in New Haven,

In this connection it seems a strange coincidence that the oldest head stone in this locality should be that of Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, killed in this same battle at Ticonderoga, and which today is still standing in the Union Cemetery between Hudson Falls and Fort Edward. We would naturally expect from the Lord Howe stone this contemporary one would have had "In Memory of," but instead it bears the legend "HERE LYES the body of Duncan Campbell, of Inversaw, Esqr., &c."[1]

Next if the inscription had been prepared under the direction of General Abercrombie, the abbreviation "Lo" would not have been used. I had never seen it myself and wrote to Miss Lomas asking her if she had ever in her work run across it at the Record Office. She replied as follows: "I quite thought I had come across the shortened form 'lo' for 'lord'—But I think I must be mistaken, for I asked several experts at the Record Office and they all thought 'Ld' was used at that time. And on searching through 2 bundles of the correspondence (1755 & 1757) I often came across the abbreviation 'Ld' but never once 'Lo', which I think proves pretty well that the 'Lo' was not used then. 'Lds. of the Admiralty', 'Ld. Holderness' occurred several times. 'Lordships' seems to be always written in full, and of course, 'Lord' very often."

This disposes of the argument by Owen on p. 14 of his Monograph "The o of the L^{o} is smaller than the other letters, corresponding to the then prevalent practice in all papers and documents of designating the title of Lord by that abbreviation."

At any rate we can be morally certain that it would not have been used by Abercrombie, who was thoroughly acquainted with official titles, designations and abbreviations.[2]

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erected previous to 1800. Up to 1760, "Here lies" appears 155 times, and after 1760, 24. "In Memory of" appears 31 times before 1758, 4 times in that year and 2 times in 1759. After 1760, it appears 280 times. How many of the older inscriptions "In Memory Of" were on stones put up after the year of death as a memorial is not known. A prevailing form in New Haven was simply the name and dates of birth and death, without introduction or comment.

1 Dr. Asa Fitch's *Survey of Washington County* in *New York Agri. Soc. Trans.* (1848), p. 930. See also W. L. Stone's *Hist. Washington County, N .Y.*, pp. 103-104 and R. O. Bascom's *Fort Edward Book* for cut of stone to face p. 80. See also same cut as reproduced in this volume.

2 Since the above was written, I received a letter from Miss Lomas in which she stated that her mother, also an expert copyist, had seen the

Again, if the stone had been prepared as claimed, under the direction of the Rangers the name would have been spelled HOW, which was the spelling in vogue by both French and Colonials, as proved by nearly all of the contemporaneous journals and diaries which have not been edited before publication.[1]

The line KILLED AT TROUT BROOK, is however the most damaging piece of evidence, which this stone bears against itself.

As a matter of fact, "Trout Brook," as such, was not known at that time to the English. It was in French territory exclusively. It was called by Montcalm, "Bernes," "Bernets," and "Birney" River. It was also known as "River of the Falls."[2] A contemporary French sketch map of the period gives it as "R. Bernetz."[3] Rogers who had repeatedly scouted the region calls it "the river that ran into the falls."[4] None of the contemporary journalists or historians, previous to the settlement by the English, after Amherst's Campaign of 1759 and 1760 called it by the name of "Trout Brook." In fact Dr. Joseph Cook the authority on that region calls it Berney River in his Centennial Address at Ticonderoga.[5]

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form "Lo" in old papers, but that it would have been "a very unusual and curious form to appear on a tomb stone." Inquiry however of Dr. Samuel A. Green of the Mass. Hist. Society, and Robert H. Kelby of the New York Hist. Society elicited the replies that neither of them had ever seen such an abbreviation. The writer also, carefully went over several years of the *Gentleman's Magazine,* covering this period, and in every volume the abbreviation used was "Ld." Our State Archivist A. J. F. van Laer writes that he has never seen the abbreviation " in any documents or records of the 18th or any other century." It is evident therefore, that it was not so very "prevalent" in England, nor familiar in America, at that date, and not used on tomb stones as an abbreviation even in England.

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1 *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X., pp. 738, 741, etc. See *Roger's Journals* (London 1765), pp. 109-114; Lt. Samuel Thompson's *Diary,* (Boston 1896), p. 9; *Journal Dr. Caleb Rea,* (Salem 1881), p. 25; Buel's *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam,* p. 23, etc.

2 There was a Lieut. Col. of the Royal Rousillon Regt. who was with Montcalm in this campaign as in preceding ones, by the name of Chevalier de Bernetz, Bernier or Bernes, from whom this stream probably took its then local name—Hough's *Pouchot,* I, p. 113. Also *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, pp. 604-605. See also for name of river idem, p. 738, 747, 791, 814, 845.

3 *Id.* French map, copied from original in French War Dept. No. 3498-144, to face p. 721.

4 *Rogers' Journals,* (Hough's ed. Albany 1883), p. 118a, same also in ed. 1765, p. 112.

Hist. Soc., 1909), pp. 66-67.

5 Joseph Cook's *Centennial Address at Ticonderoga* 1864, (Ticonderoga

AT TICONDEROGA

Boulder in Academy Park to the Heroes of the Four Nations—Indian, French, English and American—Who Fought at Ticonderoga

Monument Marking the Supposed Spot Where Lord Howe was Killed, at the Mouth of Trout Brook

(Both Boulder and Monument Were Erected by the Late Rev. Joseph Cook)

Even the original surveys and deeds of the first families do not give this stream the name of Trout Brook.[1] Not a contemporary map has ever been found with the name of "Trout Brook" upon it.[2]

How then could this name, given to the brook by settlers in later days (on account of the abundance of the speckled beauties then found in it by the creel full), have been affixed to it by persons in 1758, who knew neither its value as a fishing preserve, whence it came nor whither it went? The old Latin proverb ran "*Falsum in Uno, Falsum in Omnibus.*" We have here shown however that not even in one particular does the Ticonderoga stone seem to belong to the day and generation to which it purports to appertain.

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1 In the *Land Papers* office of the Secretary of State there are to be found in XVIII, p. 4 grant to John Stoughton the first settler of Ticonderoga in 1764, and on p. 5 grant to John Kennedy. Mr. Paltsits kindly examined these for the writer and from the latter's data discovered that even on the original grants, and on the original survey filed with them (p. 5) the brook while shown is not named. He says on the survey for Lieut. John Stoughton, July 24, 1764, the following bounds are mentioned: "Southwesterly and southerly along the banks of the said river or waters to a brook which empties into the said river or waters, nine chains below the landing place out of Lake George." It is therefore plain that even at that day Trout Brook had not as yet received its later name.

2 An exhaustive search for maps of this period has been most kindly made for the writer by State Historian Paltsits at Albany and at the Lenox Library New York; Miss Charlotte Van Peyma at the State Library, Albany, N. Y.; Miss Lena Diver at the British Museum, London; and by P. Lee Phillips, Chief Maps and Charts Division at the Congressional Library, Washington, in addition to an examination, by the writer, of every map published in any of the reference books mentioned herein. These all lead to the same result. The stream is shown but not named in any of the earlier maps. Parkman however, in his Montcalm and Wolfe (Frontenac ed.) shows a map opposite p. 301 entitled Sketch of the Country Round Ticonderoga, Doen by Lt. E. Meyer of Ye 60th Regt. On this map the stream is called "Trout Brook." The map looked suspiciously like an "edited" one to the writer and Mr. Paltsits coincided in this opinion. Miss Van Peyma, Miss Lomas and Mr. Phillips all reported that Lt. Elias Meyer the map maker as shown by the "*Army Lists*" of that period, and by Ford's *British Officers Serving in America,* was lieutenant in the 62nd Regiment from January 23, 1756, and capt. lieut. in the 60th Regiment from April 27, 1762. Miss Lomas says "The 60th was in America in 1758 and 1759, and part of it (it was divided into 4 battalions) was with Amherst in winter quarters in the latter year. The 2nd battalion was certainly with him, probably the first and perhaps the 3rd also, but these are not certain." We know this regiment or part of it was at Louisbourg (Richard's *Her Majesty's Army,* I, p. 290). It is doubtful therefore if Lt. Meyer ever saw Ticonderoga till 1759. The proof of the whole matter however lies in the fact that Miss Diver discovered in the British Museum the original "Sketch Doen by Lt. E.

The fact that the body was buried in a coffin or box, would also tend to discredit the story, as amid all the confusion of the army, the fact that at this time the supplies were hardly landed, and there was no place where boards for a coffin could be secured, the French Mill having been destroyed,[1] and the further fact that it was the custom then in case of a hurried military funeral, to inter the body in a cloak, blanket or canvas shroud,[2] would render it improbable that so much care would be taken as this would indicate, by officers so badly confused as the official despatches and private letters show.

The element of time in this matter must also be considered. I am informed by one of the best monument workers in this section that the cutting of thirty letters a day in granite or rock of a similar texture is considered a good day's work for a skilled man. And that if the lettering had to be done, as has been alleged it was, with a bayonet or other rude tool, it would take the better part of two days to accomplish this particular piece of work on the Ticonderoga stone. There being twenty-seven letters in the inscription.[3]

Meyer "in *Additional Mss.*, 21, 686 (30) on which is marked *in pencil* "8 July 1758," and she says "that 'Trout Brook' is NOT named in this little sketch." This shows conclusively that Parkman's map is not a true copy, but an interpolated one. Bancroft gives both names, Bernes River and Trout Brook in his *History United States*, (1852), IV, map to face p. 305.

3 Smith's *History Essex County N. Y.*, (Syracuse, 1885), p. 379.

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1 See letter in *Gentleman's Magazine*, (1758), XXVIII, p. 445, also Knox's *Journal*, p. 149.

2 Compare the burial of Warren at Bunker Hill—"His remains were buried on the field, with such disregard of the claims of rank, as a man and a citizen, that only the supposition that Gage feared to place them in the hands of his (Warren's) friends for political reasons can account for the indignity with which the body was treated. As for the Americans with whom he fought, it is not known that they made the least effort to obtain the remains. He died and received the burial of an American rebel, a name of which his descendants are not ashamed.

"No useless coffin enclosed his breast,
Not in sheet or in shroud we bound him,
But he lay like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him."

Samuel Adams Drake in *Old Landmarks and Historic Fields of Middlesex*, (Boston 1888), p. 72.

3 To dispose of the Ticonderoga stone and its authenticity at this time, the writer is permitted to quote the following from the letters of Dr. John M. Clarke, *State Geologist*: "I may say to you, however, that in my judgment findings on behalf of the Ticonderoga claim could not be regarded as all in, until this monument has been subjected to an expert scrutiny. The question arises whether the apparent degree of weathering of the inscription is such as should have taken place after one hundred and fifty years of ex-

Then, too, the nails found with the alleged coffin are said to be the same as those used in the old fort.[1] If this be true, I would enquire how the English could obtain in 1758, nails from a fort which they did not capture until 1759, or occupy much till a year later.

Prof. Owen, the advocate of Ticonderoga as a burial place, gave as a reason for a hasty burial and the deposit of the two stones in the grave,[2] that it was desirable to mark the spot in some way and also protect it from the Indians with Montcalm, who might dig up the body in order to secure the scalp, and that the graphite lump was the mark of distinction. It seems remarkable that so distinguished a man should not have had some metallic insignia buried with him, in such an out of the way spot, to identify his body in the event of the grave being found, and that a lump of stone, which would have had to have been brought four or five miles, should have been chosen for such a purpose.[3]

On the other hand, we are credibly informed that later on, the body in Albany, supposed to be Lord Howe's, when taken up for re-interment, had coverings distinctive of his rank.

They who allege as a precedent the burial of Braddock on the scene of his defeat, in an unknown grave, and of Colonel Williams where he fell at the Battle of Lake George, should have chosen their arguments and precedents with more care. In the first place the official reports of Montcalm and his officers show that this was the only important French victory ever won without the aid of Indians. There were only sixteen of them[4] with the army, most of whom were wiped out in the skirmish at the River Bernetz, or ran away.[5] In the second place, while the body of General Braddock was never discovered, enough soldiers knew of the circumstance,

posure and burial, and whether this inscription has been renewed since the discovery of the stone. Only the geologist can determine the authenticity of this monument and its inscription * * *. In such cases as these it is not a matter of mere opinion or reasonable presumption as to what has taken place, but a question for accurate scientific determination."

1 E. J. Owen's *Burial of Lord Viscount Howe*, p. 14.
2 *Id.* p. 13.
3 *Id.* p. 26.
4 *New York Col. Doc.* X, p. 732.
5 Id. p. 738.

to hand it down to later generations. In the same way the family of Colonel Williams had sufficient knowledge of his burying place to enable a nephew about 1837 to find the remains in the place near Williams' Rock, at French Mountain where they had been deposited, and where they still remain.[1] If Lord Howe's body had been buried at Ticonderoga, certainly some one of the numerous New Englanders present, especially the Rangers, his friends, if no one else had done it, would have chronicled it, and we would have known the facts long before this, for such a burial could not have been accomplished in a secret manner. The good work carried on by the Essex Institute leads me to hope that even now there may be discovered some day, hidden away in some New England attic, a time stained manuscript which will set us all right in this matter.

Again, as has been so well said:[2] "Is it conceivable that Bradstreet, Stark, Putnam, Rogers, Capt. Schuyler, General Abercrombie, in fact the whole army would have forgotten him as soon as his heart ceased to beat * * *? If his grave was there and known, why did not Amherst know and why did he not have the body removed from the lonely grave? It will be remembered that the next year 1759 the British dominated Lake Champlain and Lake George, and that the French soldiers never returned."[3]

As remarked before, the element of time is to be considered. When killed, it is said Lord Howe was with Israel Putnam's division of the Rangers. Colonel David Humphreys in his life of that noted American soldier says "that Putnam remained on the field until it began to grow dark, employed in collecting such of the enemy as were left wounded to one place; he gave them all the liquor and little refreshments which he could secure; he furnished to each of them a blanket."[4] Putnam and Stark were the intimate

[1] A. W. Holden's *Queensbury,* pp. 294-295. A. L. Perry's *Origins in Williamstown,* pp. 355-356.

[2] W. Max Reid's *Lake George and Lake Champlain,* (N. Y. 1910), p. 160.

[3] That it was possible to find bodies, even under adverse circumstances, is shown by an interesting anecdote in Warburton's *Conquest of Canada,* II, pp. 22-23, taken from Galt's *Life of West.* Major Sir Peter Halket, accompanied by a party of Indians and American sharp-shooters found the remains of his father and brother killed at the time of Braddock's Defeat, under the leaves and rubbish of the forest near the scene of the battle, where one of the Indians remembered seeing the two men fall. The bodies were easily identified, and buried with the usual honors. Bancroft also mentions this incident in revised edition of his *History of the United States,* (Boston 1879), III, p. 207.

[4] Humphrey's *Life of Putnam,* (ed. 1812), p. 47, (Ibid. 1833), p. 41; Wm. H. Graham's *Life and Times of General Israel Putnam,* (1849), p. 21.

friends of Lord Howe among the Rangers, and to them, had the local burial been decided upon, would have been entrusted the sad task. On the one hand however, Putnam was looking after the French wounded, and Stark, the next day, performing military duties.

The next morning, also according to Humphrey, "Major Rogers was sent to reconnoitre the field "where Lord Howe was killed," that is the river bank, "and bring off the wounded prisoners; but, finding the wounded unable to help themselves, in order to save trouble, he dispatched everyone of them to the world of Spirits."[1] An officer writing to the Gentleman's Magazine, under date of July 9, 1758, gives the following account of the affair: "His Lordship was shot through the breast, and died instantly. Col. DeLancey was near him, but was not hurt. We soon routed this party, and took 152 prisoners, killing near 300, some of whom were scalped, by our people, but the most of them were left untoched until evening, when Major Rogers' Indians paid them the compliments of the knife."[2] Rogers' party which was on the scout continually, was evidently the party of "pioneers" seen at six o'clock on the evening of the 6th, by M. Duprat approaching the River Bernetz, and reported by him to Montcalm.[3] This contemporary account verifies Humphrey, except as to the time when Rogers visited the ground.

We know that the army was under arms the entire night of the 6th and morning of the 7th. It would have taken some time to have prepared the coffin, selected a burial place, picked out the lump of graphite, unlike anything else then in that vicinity, graphite bearing rock not having been discovered until after Revolutionary times,[4] and worst job of all to have found a proper head-

1 *Life of Putnam,* (1833), p. 41.

2 XXVIII, p. 445.

3 *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 738.

4 Graphite rock was first discovered in Ticonderoga about 1815 or 1818 on "Grassy Hill" now known as Lead Mountain in the northwestern part of Ticonderoga. Dr. Cook is authority for the statement that in an ancient excavation several Indian arrows were found. So unless one of Montcalm's savages had fortuitously and fortunately dropped this rock so that the English might use it in this manner, its presence at this time and in this particular place would have savored of the miraculous. Cook's *Sketches* pp. 57-59. "Graphite, or black lead is to be found on the premises of W. A. G. Arthur, Ticonderoga. It is found in a wall of quartz or trap rock. * * * The Port Henry granular limestone appears in Ticonderoga, near Lake George. W. C. Watson, *Survey of Essex County* in *Trans. N. Y. S. Agri. Soc.,* (1852), pp. 786-787, 789.

stone, had it cut to shape and lettered. The death of Lord Howe occurred about four o'clock in the afternoon,[1] and the battle lasted until sundown,[2] which at this time of the year on Lakes George and Champlain, would have been around eight o'clock, with the afterglow if the day were clear. But both the 6th and 7th were cloudy, as many July days on Lake George are apt to be, with a shower the latter day.[3]

The skirmish took place according to different diarists from one and a half to two miles from the Lake George Landing Place. While Dr. Joseph Cook insists that it was near the confluence of Trout Brook with the Outlet.[4]

S. R. Stoddard says in a now rare work: "Toward the north, down where the waters of the lake circling around are joined by those of Trout Brook from the valley on the west, the gallant Lord Howe * * * was killed."[5]

On a very scarce map of Lake George loaned me by Mr. Stoddard, the spot where Lord Howe fell is marked as about opposite the old village of Alexandria (Upper Ticonderoga now) on the west bank of the Outlet, and in a southwesterly direction from the upper falls. This map shows the spot as quite a distance from the junction of the brook and the Outlet.[6] Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Maryland, one of the "signers," who with Dr. Benjamin Franklin, and Samuel Chase, under the guidance of Phillip Schuyler journeyed through Lakes George and Champlain, as the special commissioners from Congress to Canada, in April, 1776, writes under date of the 21st: "I took a walk this evening to the saw-mill which is built on the principal fall of the river flowing from Lake George into Lake Champlain.[7] * * * A little to the northwestward of the saw-mill, on the west side of the river, I visited the spot where Lord Howe was killed."[8]

1 Dr. Cook's *Centennial Address,* (Ticonderoga 1909), p. 71. See also Montcalm's Report *New York Col. Doc.* X, p. 792.

Journal Col. Archelaus Fuller, in *Col. Essex Inst.,* (1910), XLVI, July, pp. 213-214.

3 *Journal of Dr. Caleb Rea,* pp. 24-25.

4 *Home Sketches* p. 102, *Centennial Address* p. 71.

5 Stoddard's *Ticonderoga,* (Albany, 1873), p. 11.

6 *Miller's Lith.* 142 Broadway, N. Y. n.d.

7 This was not the old French Mill, that having been destroyed, but one of a later period, and apparently from descriptions at hand on the south side of the outlet, "at the south end of the lower falls" *Home Sketches,* pp. 20-21. See pamphlet *A Memorial Tablet at Ticonderoga,* (1910) p. 15.

8 His *Journal,* (Baltimore, 1865), p 56.

In that most interesting sketch, "The Storming of Ticonderoga," M. Dudley Bean says: "Till within the last third of a century an old ranger lived who was in that battle, and who often made pilgrimages to the very spot where Lord Howe fell; and has pointed it out to many who yet live to identify it. No monument marks it, and it is to be regretted that the road now most commonly travelled diverges from the main battleground. Nearly one mile north from the Lower Falls, on the outlet of Lake George, close by the little rivulet called Trout Brook, upon its western margin, legend points out the scene. The noise of battle and din of war are no longer heard, but the little rivulet murmurs in all its primitive charm, the wild deer bound over the sacred mound where he fell, and the forest trees shade it; and there among the oaken leaves, the pure air, fresh from the everlasting mountains which sacredly guard it, 'sings the warrior's requiem.' "[1]

It is rather a nice point for a non-military expert to pick out at this late day the exact spot where the death of Lord Howe occurred. But it can be safely said without fear of contradiction that it was on the westerly side of the stream, later called Trout Brook. In the morning Rogers and his men had been sent to take possession of the ground near the mills, and make an investigation of the French dispositions. From the confused description in his Memoirs this might have been across the brook, but if it was, he soon recrossed with Col. Lyman and Col. Fitch of the Colonials[2] who heard the firing of Langy's men, or De Trepezec's detachment. The Colonials and Rogers' men faced about to the south, while the English army with the rest of the Rangers and Lord Howe were coming on to the north, but on the southward of the Brook. This brought the French between the two fires, forcing them to try and escape by the Outlet at the east, and practically catching them as in a trap.[3] Those who were not killed or drowned, were forced to surrender to the overwhelming odds. There is therefore absolutely no authority for stating that Lord Howe had crossed the brook, nor was anywhere near the spot where his alleged remains were discovered.[4]

1 *Knickerbocker,* (July, 1850), p. 18.
2 *Rogers' Journals,* (Hough ed.), p. 118a.
3 Parkman's, *Montcalm & Wolfe,* (ed. 1899), II, 301-303.
4 *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, pp. 722-723, 735, 738, 742, 747, 792, 814, 845.

We know from the letters and reports that everything was in confusion, and that a furious fight was waged all along the river bank and the spot where Lord Howe fell. So by the time the body was brought in, the day would have been far advanced. There was no moon to help, even if its rays could have penetrated the gloomy forest, and no starlight because of the overhanging clouds.[1] It requires a strong imagination to believe that the stone cutter, plying his trade by a camp fire, if one were allowed, owing to proximity of the enemy, could have accomplished his task, even had he started at the time Lord Howe was killed, under fourteen to sixteen hours, which would have taken until the next morning.

Dr. Rea's Diary also a letter of Capt. Moneypenny state—the one that "Lord How was Brou't in and imbalmed," the other that his body was "preserved with all the care the place would allow of." The term "brou't in" therefore would mean "to headquarters," which had been established by the General at or probably on the rising ground further back toward the Landing, where the commander-in-chief with so large a force naturally would be. In fact, it is entirely probable that the body was brought back to the Landing Place. It stands to reason that it would not have been taken the other way, as the army did not occupy the advanced French ground until the next night, or that of the 7th. The place where the alleged remains of Lord Howe and the stone were found, according to a rough map furnished me by the Hon. Howland Pell, was across the Outlet, then without any bridge, about half a mile away from the alleged scene of his death on Trout Brook, and necessarily until the night of the 7th, in French territory.

If the object was to have a secret burial, the body would not have been deposited in the ground during daylight, nor even at night, so near the French lines. For Montcalm was kept informed of every movement of the English troops, by his spies, as his reports show. It would have been impossible, impracticable and unnecessary to have buried the body on the night of the 6th, exhumed it and had it transported to the head of the lake, where it was seen

1 Ames *Astronomical Diary and Almanac,* says for this date in 1758: "July 5 at 4 a. m. was *new moon.*" F. L. Tolman, Reference Librarian, N. Y. State Library.

on the morning of the 8th by Lieut. Thompson.[1] If we only had the missing letter of General Stanwix it might enlighten us as to when the body was received in Albany. It is certain that Abercrombie's letter to Pitt was dated July 12th, although like many official reports, it may not have been completed for days, and that the missing letter from Stanwix to DeLancey was dated on the 11th. Between the 7th and the 11th of July the body had been transported to Albany and been buried by General Stanwix.[2] There is no inconsistency here as there was abundant time for a messenger to bring the news back to Abercrombie, and for him to insert it in the letter that was to go to Lord Pitt, even if it was not in the other two letters of the same date, which were the ones published and more commonly known. Miss Lomas however has the following explanation of the discrepancy, which is very plausible:

"In answer to your letter of June 13th, I beg to enclose my affidavit, made at the American Consulate, in relation to the passage on pp. 298-299 in the Correspondence of William Pitt.

The copy in N. Y. Colonial Documents, Vol. 10 (p. 725) is (*as there stated*) taken from the "London Gazette Extraordinary" for August 22, 1758. On collating these two, I find that they agree exactly; that is, in *both,* the passage in question is omitted. The letters in the Gazette were often officially edited before publication. In this case, it was probably thought, that the family of young Lord Howe might prefer the passage concerning his body, omitted, and perhaps the few lines about the troops which follow, were left out by accident."

It is certain that Stanwix knew of the defeat and the death of Lord Howe, on the 9th, for he sent as stated, an account of it to Lieut. Gov. DeLancy then in New York, on that date.[3]

There is another phase of this matter which is peculiar in this respect. All accounts agree that Lieut. Thomas Cumberford (or Cumberfort as it is also spelled)[4] of the 80th Regiment of Foot, (Col. Gage's Light Infantry) was, with eight others, killed at the same time with Lord Howe. They were certainly as deserving of

[1] His *Diary,* p. 9.
[2] See also *Boston New Letter,* July 13, and *Boston Gazette,* July 17, 1758, Mass. Hist. Society Library. (Dr. Joseph Hooper's paper.)
[3] His Letter in *Boquet Papers* Add. Mss. 21, 640, p. 77.
[4] See *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, pp. 731, 735.

christian burial as he, and it would seem unlikely that if the soldiers were preparing a grave, coffin and headstone for Lord Howe, that they would not treat his brother officer with the same consideration and respect. But no other coffin, and no other remains were found, although the trench in which they were discovered extended, as I understand it, the length of the street, and they would necessarily have been buried together, so that the other remains should have been found at or about the same time. Especially as Peter Duchane, who found them, swore that the stone and head of the box or coffin were in the ditch, he was digging.[1]

This fall in making the state road at Lake George, a row of skeletons was uncovered by the steam shovels in the main road. It is a matter of common knowledge that in military burials, it is customary to dig a long trench, in which the remains of the dead are interred side by side.

But some critics will ask, how can the presence of the remains and the headstone be explained? This is entirely a matter of theory and conjecture on both sides. In view of the fact that the lettering on the headstone has the characteristics of Revolutionary times, rather than of the days of the French and Indian War, the writer believes the most reasonable theory and one which if the truth were known is the right explanation, to be as follows:

After the capture of Fort Ticonderoga in 1775 by Col. Ethan Allen, it was more or less occupied by the American forces. At the time of Burgoyne's Invasion we know that a good sized garrison was stationed there.

In July, 1776, Gen. Gates was in charge of Ticonderoga. It is not only probable but most likely that included in his garrison were many of the men who had fought in the French and Indian War, and had taken part in this very battle. What more natural thing could have occurred, than that one of them having nothing to do at the time, should have picked up this piece of rock, intending to place it at the spot where Lord Howe fell as a monument, and with his bayonet pricked upon it the inscription which has been so often referred to in this article and that of Mr. Wicks. This would account for the apparent anachronism in the use at the beginning of the epitaph, of "In Mem" as well as that of "Trout Brook" at its ending.

1 Prof. Owen's *Monograph*, p. 28.

At this time smallpox was prevalent in the camp, and the men were dying on every side.[1] It would not be an improbable thing that the marker of this stone should be taken with the disease, die and be buried, in what would have been a spot reasonably far enough removed from the camp, to comply with the regulations of Gen. Gates. It would also be natural that seeing the stone and lump of rock in his tent, that the comrades who bore the soldier to his last resting place, should take them along to prevent further infection, and deposit them in the same grave. As a matter of fact similar stones were erected on Mount Independence at the time of the "camp distemper in 1776" one of which was in existence at the time the place was visited by B. J. Lossing.[2]

Or the body may have been that of some soldier killed in a skirmish with the Indians, or the enemy, who had prepared the stone as suggested, and whose comrades buried with him, for future indentification, the two pieces of rock. For instance Henry Sewall writes his father of the same name, at York, Mass., under date of June 18, 1777, "of an attack by the Indians on the outposts at Ticonderoga. This was followed by another attack on a scouting party on the lake [George?] Three of the party were killed, and brought in. They belonged to the New Hampshire forces."[3] It does not require much imagination to connect the death of one of these men, and his burial across the Outlet, with the Lord Howe stone, for the original Rogers' Rangers were from New Hampshire, and many of them, excluding their leader, afterwards a Tory, fought for the cause of independence.

It is also granted that these theories are entirely imaginative, but in view of the fact that the inscription on the stone does not comply in any respect with the requirements of the period it is supposed to represent, the hypothesis of the writer should be entitled to consideration, as well as that of the supporters of the Ticonderoga theory.

There is current a legend to the effect that with the Ticonderoga remains was found a bullet, and in the skull a bullet hole. If so, it would prove at once the body was not Lord Howe's, as he

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1 Spark's *Writings of George Washington,* IV, p. 12.
2 Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution,* (N. Y. 1851), p. 148.
3 *Hist. Mag.* (July, 1867), p. 8.

was shot in the breast. However the papers at the time did not mention the finding of the bullet or bullet hole. Prof. Owen, in his monograph, tells of finding the coffin, the skull, the bones, the stone, and piece of graphite rock, then says: "A fragment of a brass button; also several nails—old fashioned hand made such as are found in the old fort—were found, but nothing more."[1] The affidavits of Peter Duchane, the finder; John C. Fenton, Town Clerk; Chas. A. Stevens, merchant, and R. C. Wilcox, physician and surgeon, as given by Owen,[2] do not mention any bullet, or bullet hole, so that story may be dismissed as a myth.

To sum up the entire matter we have proved that the body of Lord Howe was brought into camp the night of the 6th and partially embalmed. That it was transported to the head of the lake by direction of Captain Moneypenny and presumably by the order of the commander in chief on the 7th and 8th. That it was in charge of Major Phillip Schuyler as his statements and persistent tradition in the family prove. That the arrival of the body at Fort George or Fort William Henry was noted by Lieutenant Samuel Thompson on the 8th. That according to Lossing who had an intimate acquaintance with the traditions and papers of the Schuyler family, it was taken to Fort Edward on a rude bier. That according to the Shippen papers, its presence at Fort Edward was known, before it was placed on the batteau to be taken to Albany. That in the Ingalsbe family is a tradition that an ancestor was one of the soldiers who escorted the remains to Albany. That a special messenger brought the news to General Stanwix at Albany, who knew of the facts and had sent them to Lieutenant Governor DeLancey at midnight of the 9th. That the Boston Gazette and Boston News Letter, the latter of July 13th and the other of July 17th, announce the arrival of a courier from Albany, which place "he left Monday evening last" i. e., Monday, the 10th, with "a letter from Albany to a gentleman in this town dated July 10th, stating the body of the Right Honourable Lord George Viscount Howe was brought to Albany last Monday."[3] That General Abercrombie in his official despatch announces that the condition of the body on its arrival at Albany was such that General Stanwix was obliged

1 Owen, p. 14.
2 Id. pp. 27-31.
3 See photographs showing this item.

to order it buried. That there is still among the archives of St. Peter's Church what is known as the Church Book, containing the treasurer's accounts for that year, the only written church records of that parish for those days which have survived carelessness, several big fires, and lack of interest of the earlier settlers of Albany. In this is an entry showing a charge made on the occasion of Lord Howe's funeral for the use of the church pall, or coffin drapery, employed in olden times. The advocates of Lord Howe's burial elsewhere, insist on rejecting this entry, which if allowed, would of course settle the argument once for all taken in connection with the proofs offered by Dr. Hooper and myself.[1]

In this connection the question has been frequently asked, by those who are in doubt as to this matter,—why if Lord Howe was such a favorite in Albany, did not the Albany papers have an account of his burial, or why did not the inhabitants of the staid old town, make some record of it, since it must have been conducted with all due regard to his rank and station, and have been an imposing even though saddening spectacle? The answer to the first query is an easy one. There were no papers published in Albany at that time, the nearest being printed either in New York or Boston.[2] And in these, or some of them, did appear the accounts of his death and burial, as has been so fully shown.

As to the second query, that answer is also somewhat obvious, if we take into account two circumstances. First—the death of Lord Howe was followed by the wildest rumors, and the inhabitants of Albany, believing Montcalm already at their gates, with his band of scalp takers, murderers and fiends, employed the year before in the massacre at Fort William Henry, were too busy packing up, and preparing to fly to New York or Boston, to pay attention to anyone, especially a dead Englishman, hero and beloved one though he was.[3] Second—the slow running Dutch blood of the older burghers of this old Hollandish town had not taken any too kindly to the high-spirited, dancing, wine drinking play act-

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1 Dr. Hooper's *Hist. St. Peter's Church,* pp. 524-526. See also photograph showing page in Church Book with this entry.

2 Weise's *History of Albany,* The *Albany Gazette* was the first paper published in Albany, starting in November, 1771. It was discontinued in 1776, p. 506. *Munsell's Annals of Albany,* II, p. 191.

3 W. L. Stone's *Sir Wm. Johnson,* II, pp. 74-75. See note also, same pages. Baxter's *Godchild of Washington,* p. 50.

ing English, billited on them against their wills, and in spite of their remonstrances.[1]

In Dr. Morse's American Geography published in 1789, he says, "Albany is said to be an unsociable place * * *. To form a just idea of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, we must confine ourselves to the Dutch, who being much the most numerous, give the *tone* to the manners of the place."[2] In 1795, the Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt visited Albany, and gave his views of the inhabitants as follows: "I was by no means displeased at leaving Albany. The Albanians, to speak generally * * * are the most disagreeable beings, I have hitherto met with in the United States."[3] In 1800 Gorham A. Worth writes, "Albany was indeed Dutch, in all its moods and tenses; thoroughly and inveterately Dutch. The buildings were Dutch—Dutch in style, in position, attitude and aspect. The people were Dutch, the horses were Dutch, and even the dogs were Dutch."[4] It was only a few years, however, according to Mr. Worth, before the "Yankees" had captured Fort Orange, and from that time to this, no complaint of its cordial welcome has been expressed by the stranger within its gates.

With this condition prevailing as it did in 1758, it no longer seems peculiar that Lord Howe's burial escaped notice, or attention when we reflect first upon the excited and troubled state of minds of the residents of Albany, and secondly upon the apathy, and dislike with which everything English was viewed by all except a very few of the better educated and more influential families. Then too the crushing defeat of Abercrombie's army, and the arrival at Albany of boat load after boat load of the wounded for care and attention,[5] were matters more important, both to chronicle and talk about, than the interment of Lord Howe, which after all was but an incident of war, while the other was a dread calamity.

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[1] Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady,* (N. Y. 1846), pp. 152-160.
[2] Munsell's *Annals of Albany,* I, p. 282.
[3] Id. IV, p. 238.
[4] Worth's *Random Recollections of Albany* (1866), p. 27.
[5] Munsell's *Annals of Albany,* II, p. 60. *Memoirs of An American Lady,* (N. Y. 1846), pp. 182-183. Mrs. Bonney's *Historical Gleanings,* I, p. 22. A. J. Weise's *History of Albany,* p. 331. Miss Kimball's *Correspondence of William Pitt, Abercrombie to Pitt,* I, p. 301.

Again one of the strong arguments used by the anti-Albany party has been, that it was strange that no particular mark was affixed to the spot where Lord Howe was buried, as well as that so little notice was taken of the ceremonies at the time. An exactly parallel case, however, can be adduced in that of Gen. Edward Whitmore, who was prominent in the siege of Louisburg, in the same year 1758, and who remained behind as governor of the conquered territory. He was drowned in Plymouth Harbor in 1761. In spite of the accident and his prominence, and a public burial of notable character, not one bit of notice was taken of it by the papers at the time. "He was buried under King's chapel (in Boston) but neither newspaper notice, probate record, escutcheon or ring remain, to show to what family he belonged or what coat of arms he used."[1]

Continuing our proof, we find, that at the taking down of the old English church in 1802, the remains of the deceased nobleman, distinguished by a coat of arms, a special coffin, and a rich silk damask cerement were seen and handled by Elkanah Watson, the historian, and his assistant, Henry Cuyler, a British half pay officer, then residing in Greenbush, who knew the location of the grave.[2] That the remains were again interred under the second St. Peter's church along the north foundation wall with twenty-four other bodies which had been buried under the old church.[3] That at the demolition of the second church in 1859, Lord Howe's remains again distinguishable by a black silk ribbon referred to by Mr. Watson, were seen by the building committee of the present church, one of whom, Jesse Potts of Albany, described the exhumation and reburial under the vestibule of the present church.[4] That at the time of the original discovery of the alleged Howe remains in 1889, it was stated by both the Troy Telegram and the Troy Press,[5] that W. W. Crannell, then an aged resident of Albany, "said he was present when the old church which occupied the site of the present St. Peter's was torn down, and he saw the coffin of Lord Howe exhumed."

1 Dawson's *Historical Magazine,* (May, 1857), pp. 157-158.
2 See Dr. Hooper's proofs Appendix.
3 Munsell's *Col. Hist. Albany,* I, p. 445.
4 Dr. Hooper's *History St. Peter's Church,* p. 524.
5 Their respective issues of Monday, Oct. 21st, 1889.

We have thus traced the body of Lord Howe from the spot where he was killed to the place where his remains were finally buried.

On the other hand what disposition should be made of the Ticonderoga claim. They have an apparently authentic head stone, some bones, and the tradition of Peterson the Ranger and stone cutter, to offset the Albany theory.[1] It should be noted however that the head stone does not possess a single characteristic pertaining to the period of 1758 and that every line of the inscription contains either an anachronism or an error. That the remains were not distinguished by any mark of rank or indication, as to whom the buried person might be. That the remains were buried in a place to which the English had absolutely no access up to the night of the 7th, being over half a mile away from the spot where Lord Howe was killed and across the Outlet, at that time in French territory. That the existence of graphite bearing rock, a specimen of which was also found in the grave, was not discovered until the early part of the nineteenth century in this locality. That opposed to the Peterson tradition is the Ingalsbe tradition as well as the constant and persistent traditions of the Schuyler family and the statement of General Schuyler to Chancellor Kent, as well as the statement of Mrs. Cochrane, Schuyler's daughter, to the Historian Lossing in after years.

Contrasting therefore the two sets of proofs, it is at once apparent, that the concensus of historical evidence is that the remains of Lord Howe were buried in Albany, and that by no possibility could they ever, at any time, have been buried at Ticonderoga.

But supposing that we all have been mistaken. That the incredible, unbelievable and impossible, in the light of today's evidence really had happened. That what seemed to be facts were but the iridescent imaginings of a dreamer's fancy. That General Abercrombie and Capt. Moneypenny only imagined they had the body "taken care of," as reported; that Dr. Rea did not know it was "imbalmed;" that Lieut. Thompson did not see it, nor Schuy-

1 The statement of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, mentioned by Owen, p. 16, about "the hurried grave to which his venerated remains were consigned," occurring as it does in a piece of fiction, must be rejected as purely fictitious writing.

ler take it to Albany; that history and tradition are alike at fault, and that through all the years to 1889, Lord Howe's remains had lain near the sounding waters of the little new world village, in whose then undisturbed forests he had met his fate one hundred and thirty-one years before—what then? Even in that case we could not leave him "without a grave unknell'd, uncoffined and unknown." So whether there, as some believe beside the tumbling, singing falls of ancient Carillon, or as others think under the beautiful chancel of some old English church, or the green turfed surface of Albany's silent city of the dead, or, as we have proved, beneath the groined arches of St. Peter's gothic pile, we can only say,—beloved in life, lamented in death, his soul sped that our country might in time be free, buried—he fills a hero's grave; he lived, he died—let him rest in peace.

APPENDICES.

I. OFFICIAL DISPATCH OF GENERAL ABERCROMBY.

II. DR. JOSEPH HOOPER'S PROOF OF THE ALBANY INTERMENT.

III. W. C. WATSON'S DESCRIPTION OF THE BURIAL OF LORD HOWE.

IV. DESCRIPTION OF THE HOWE MONUMENT, WESTMINISTER ABBEY.

V. THE CREDIBILITY OF GENERAL ABERCROMBY.

VI. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758.

- *a.* CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS.
- *b.* LOCAL HISTORY.
- *c.* GENERAL ACCOUNTS.
- *d.* FICTION.
- *e.* POETRY OF THE CAMPAIGN.
- *f.* MAPS AND DEPICTION.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

VIII. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

APPENDIX I.

OFFICIAL DESPATCH OF GENERAL ABERCROMBY.[1]

Camp at Lake George, July 2, 1758.

SIR:—

The Embarkation of the Artillery, Stores and Provisions being completed, on the evening of the 4th Inst. next Morning at Break of Day, the Tents were struck; and all the Troops, amounting to 6367 Regulars, Officers & Batteau-Men embarked in about 900 Batteaux & Whale Boats; the Artillery to cover our Landing being mounted on Rafts.

At 5 in the Evening, reached Sabbath-Day Point, (25 miles down the Lake) where we halted till ten; then got under way again, & Proceeded to the Landing Place,[2] (a Cove leading to the French Advanced Guard) which we reached early the next morning, the 6th.

Upon our arrival sent out a Reconnoitering Party, and having met with no Opposition, landed the Troops, formed them in four Columns, Regulars in the Center, and Provincials on the Flank, and marched towards the Enemy's advanced-guard, composed of one Battalion,[3] posted in a logged Camp, which, upon our Approach, they deserted, first setting fire to their Tents, & destroying everything they cou'd; but as their Retreat was very precipitate, they left several things behind. . . . The Army in the Foregoing Order, continued their march thro' the Wood, on the West side, with a Design to invest Tienderoga, but the wood being very thick, impassable with any Regularity to such a Body of Men, and the Guides unskillful, the Troops were bewildered, and the Columns broke, falling in one upon another.

Lord Howe, at the Head of the right Center Column, supported by the Light Infantry, being advanced, fell in with a French Party, supposed to consist of about 400 Regulars,[4] and a few Indians, who

[1] The above is to be found in the London Record Office in A. and W. I,. vol. 87; is also printed in *New York Colonial Documents*, X, p. 725, *except part in capitals.*

[2] "Howe's Landing" at the foot of Lake George.

[3] M. Trepezec or Trepezee's detachment.

[4] Trepezec's and Langy's troops who were endeavoring to reach the fort by going back of the English forces.

had likewise lost themselves in their Retreat from the Advanced Guard; of these our Flankers killed a great Many, & took 148 Prisoners, among whom were five officers & three Cadets. But this small Success cost us very dear, not as to the Loss of Numbers, for we had only two Officers killed, but as to Consequence, His Lordship being the first man that fell in this Skirmish, and as he was very deservedly, universally beloved and respected throughout the whole Army, it is easy to conceive the Grief and Consternation his untimely fall occasioned; For my part, I cannot help owning that I felt it most heavily, and lament him as sincerely—I CAUSED HIS BODY TO BE TAKEN OFF THE FIELD OF BATTLE, AND SENT TO ALBANY, WITH A DESIGN TO HAVE HAD IT EMBALMED, & SENT HOME, IF HIS LORDSHIP'S RELATIONS HAD APPROVED OF IT, BUT THE WEATHER BEING VERY HOT BRIG^r. STANWIX WAS OBLIGED TO ORDER IT TO BE BURIED.

THE ARMY, AS I OBSERVED BEFORE, BEING DISPERSED & NIGHT COMING ON FAST, I COLLECTED SUCH PART OF IT AS WERE WITHIN MY REACH, & POSTED THEM UNDER THE TREES, WHERE THEY REMAINED ALL NIGHT UNDER ARMS.[1]

The 7th in the Morning, having yet no intelligence of the Troops that were missing, ... and the Troops with me greatly fatigued, by having been one whole night on the Water, the following day constantly on foot, & the next Night under Arms, added to their being in want of Provision, having dropped what they had brought with them, in Order to lighten themselves, it was thought most adviseable to return to the landing Place, which we accordingly did, and upon our Arrival, there, about 8 that Morning, found the Remainder of the Army.

About 11 in the Forenoon, sent off Lieut. Col. Bradstreet, with the 44th Regiment, 6 Companies of the 1st Battalion of Royal Americans, the Batteaux Men and Body of Rangers, & Provincials to take possession of the Saw Mill,[2] within two Miles of Tienderoga, which he soon effected, as the Enemy who were posted there, after

[1] This part is entirely omitted in the letter published in *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 725.

[2] At the northerly end of the portage on the "lower falls."

destroying the Mill & breaking down their Bridge, had retired sometime before.

Lieut. Col. Bradstreet having laid another Bridge across & having sent me notice of his being in possession of that Ground, I accordingly marched thither with the Troops, & we took up our Quarters there that night: . . . It was thought most advisable to lose no Time making an Attack, wherefore, early in the morning of the 8th, I sent Mr. Clerk, the Engineer, across the River on the opposite side of the Fort, in order to reconnoitre the Enemies Intrenchments. Upon his return & favourable Report of the practicability of carrying those Works, if attacked before they were finished, it was agreed to storm them that very day.

Accordingly the Rangers, Light Infantry, and the Right wing of Provincials were order'd immediately to march and post themselves in a Line out of Cannon Shot of the Intrenchment, the Right extending to Lake George, & their Left to Lake Champlain in order that the Regular Troops destined for the Attack of the Intrenchments, might form in their Rear.

The Piquets were to begin the Attack, sustained by the Grenadiers, & they by the Battalions, the whole were ordered to march up briskly, rush upon the Enemy's fire, and not to give theirs, until they were within the Enemy's Breastwork.

After these Orders issued the whole Army except what had been left at the Landing Place to cover and guard the Batteaux and Whale Boats, and a Provincial Regiment at the Saw Mill, were put into Motion, and advanced to Tienderoga, where unfortunaely they found the Intrenchments, not only much stronger than had been represented, & the Breast work at least Eight or Nine Feet high, but likewise the Ground before it covered with felled Trees, the Branches pointed outwards, which so fatigued and retarded the advancing of the Troops, that notwithstanding all their intrepidity and Bravery, which I cannot sufficiently commend, we sustained so considerable a Loss, without any Prospect of better Success, that it was no longer prudent to remain before it, and it was therefore judged necessary for the Preservation of the Remainder of so many Brave Men, & not to run the risk of the Enemy's penetrating into his Majesty's Dominions, which might have been the case, if a Total

Defeat had ensued, that we should make the best retreat possible. Accordingly after several repeated Attacks which lasted upwards of four Hours, under the most disadvantageous Circumstances, and with the Loss of 1610 Regulars, 334 Provincials killed & wounded as by the Enclosed List,[1] I retired to the Camp we occupied the night before, with the broken Remains of several Corps, sending away all the wounded to the Batteaux about three Miles distance and early the next Morning, we arrived there ourselves, embarked and reached this in the evening of the 9th.[2]

Immediately after my Return here, sent the wounded Officers and Men that cou'd be moved to Fort Edward, & Albany; & having so many Officers unfit for present Service, it was judged impracticable, at this Time, to reattempt the Reduction of Tienderoga, & Crown Point; wherefore it was thought adviseable, to divide our Numbers & to reinforce Brig^r. Stanwix, in Order, if possible, to prevent the Enemy from putting into Execution their designs against the Mohawk River & Coming down to Albany; I have accordingly detached, the New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, & a Regiment of the Massachusetts Bay Troops, consisting with those already there, in a Body of 5600 Men, to take Post at the Oneida Carrying Place, for the Purpose mentioned in Mine of the 29th of June.

And since Lieut. Col^o. Bradstreet remained of opinion that it was still practicable to succeed in his Plan against Cadaraqui, which he proposed last winter to Lord Loudoun, I have given him the Command of 3600 of the above Men, to proceed with them from the Oneida Carrying Place, against that Fort; attempt the Reduction thereof, and destroy the Vessels they have lying there, or if neither of these Attempts should prove practicable, then to watch the Motions of Mo^r de Levy, & by engaging him, obstruct and prevent his advancing and penetrating towards the Oneida Carrying Place; in one or other of which I shou'd hope Lieut. Col^o. Bradstreet may prove successful, as he is not only very active, but had great Knowledge of the Country, & that I have provided him with every Thing he thought requisite for that purpose . . . on the

[1] Montcalm's loss was under four hundred.

[2] See Winsor V, p. 524, for plan of Ticonderoga, also Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II, p. 300; A. G. Bradley's *Fight With France for North America*, p. 238, Bancroft, IV, p. 305, for maps.

Morning of the 8th Day of the Action, S[r]. William Joined me with about 300 Indians, who are all since returned, except a very few that were out upon a Scout, and Sir William has followed them, in Order to be aiding and assisting to Brigadier Stanwix.—Under these Circumstances, which leave me the greatest Concern & Anxiety, I shall carefully watch the Motions of the Enemy, and prevent, as much as possible, their Reaping any advantage from the Check we have met with.

I have the Honour to be, with the greatest Respect, Sir,
Your most obedient & most Humble Servant,
JAMES ABERCROMBY,[1]

APPENDIX II.

REV. JOSEPH HOOPER'S PROOFS OF THE ALBANY INTERMENT.

[WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES BY J. A. H.]

The writer and the Association are indebted to the Rev. Joseph Hooper M. A., Durham, Conn., author of the History of St. Peter's Church, Albany, who has made a special study of the interment of Lord Howe from the Albany view point, for permission to use part of an address delivered by him last spring before the Institute and Historical and Arts Society, of the Capital City. It is to be regretted that space is lacking in which this very eloquent, able and convincing essay might be published in full. The Rev. Walton W. Battershall, D.D., rector of St. Peter's Church, in Albany, informed the writer that Mr. Hooper's researches in that city had been so thorough that absolutely no scrap of contemporary church evidence had been left unfound or unsearched for.

In connection with the proofs given by the writer, the following as submitted by Mr. Hooper should be considered:

"Those who were witness also of this engagement tell us that

[1] Gertrude Selwyn Kimball's *Correspondence of William Pitt*, (New York 1906,) I, pp. 297-302.

Lord Howe's body was taken immediately to the rear,[1] that it was embalmed,[2] and under the charge of Captain Philip Schuyler, especially attached to Lord Howe and serving as assistant deputy quarter master, brought to Albany,[3] and interred under the first St. Peter's Church standing on State Street.[4] The three contemporary statements proving this are of the greatest interest and value at the present time. The first will be found in the Journal of Lieutenant Samuel Thompson, of Woburn, Mass.,[5] then serving in a regiment of that Province, and stationed at the foot of Lake George near the site of the Fort William Henry. He was a man of worth and character living to a good old age, and holding many public offices in his native town. He gained a reputation by his discovery and propagation of the Pecker apple, now known as the Baldwin. He says, under date of July 8, Saturday, 'Post came from the Narrows; and they brought Lord How to ye Fort, who was slain at their landing.'

The second I found in the only copy of the Boston News-Letter for July 13, 1758. It is an extract from a letter of a gentleman in Albany to his friend in Boston, dated July 10, 1758.

'The Body of the Right Honorable Lord George Viscount Howe, was brought to Albany last Monday.'

A portion of the same letter, describing the skirmish and with the same statements concerning Lord Howe, is found in the Boston Gazette for July 17, 1758. By the courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society where these precious papers are, photographic copies of the page on which the letter is, have been made.[6]

The third is from the Church Book of St. Peter's, Albany, which contains the treasurer's accounts, records of elections of Vestry, a pew list, and other items of interest for the period from 1718 to 1765. Upon a page recording the receipt of other sums of money is this entry:—

'1758, Sept. 5th. To cash Rt. for ground to lay Body of Lord how & Pall, £5- 6s - 0.'[7]

[1] See Capt. Moneypenny's letters ante.
[2] Dr. Caleb Rea's *Journal*, (ed. 1881), p. 25.
[3] Lossing's *Schuyler*, I, p. 155.
[4] Munsell's *Collections*, II, pp. 12-13 385-386.
[5] His *Diary*, (Boston 1896), p. 9.
[6] See photograph of these papers accompanying this article.
[7] Consult plates reproduced for this article.

This date, nearly two months after his death may in these days of rapid transit to Europe seem very late for this payment to be made, but when it is remembered that the extraordinary Gazette which announced the defeat of Genl. Abercromby at Ticonderoga, two days after the death of Lord Howe, was not issued until August 18, our wonder ceases. It was the earliest possible time that a sum of money could be remitted from his relations in England. When, in 1802, the old Church was being taken down, the bodies of all those buried within it were removed to the new Church on the corner of Lodge and State streets.[8] From the account of the exhumation of Lord Howe's remains by Elkanah Watson,[9] may be taken this extract:

'As the bones were then collected to be thrown into a promiscuous mass, I conceived the idea of getting possession of this skull of a Lord. I ascertained from Henry Cuyler, a British half-pay officer residing then at Greenbush, the precise spot where he was buried, which was also indicated by his coat of arms being placed on the E. wall, nearly over the tomb. I took the opportunity, to avoid exciting curiosity, when the workmen were gone to dinner, and with the aid of my man, we removed all the dirt and rubbish which covered the remains of a double coffin containing his ashes. The outer one made of white pine, had nearly moulded into dust; the inner one being made of mahogany, was with some exceptions sound, but in some places it had rotted. The weight of the earth had forced its way intermingled with his Lordship's bones. I removed the lid and found a thick rich silk damask in which his cold remains were enshrouded on his interment, apparently sound. In attempting to remove it, it crumbled into dust. I then perceived the object of my research within my grasp, resting in peace after slumbering forty-four years (44 years) within this damask. I raised it with great caution with my left hand and to my astonish-

[8] Munsell's *Collections of Albany*, I, pp. 444-445, with extracts from *Albany Journal* of 1859, corroborating this statement.

[9] Elkanah Watson, born this very year of 1758, was a well-known chronicler and recorder of the events of his day and generation. After taking part in the Revolution he became a great traveler in this country and abroad, a friend and correspondent of Franklin, Adams, Humphreys, Chancellor Livingstone, etc. He left a great mass of Mss., material which his son and literary executor, a careful and able historian, made use of in Elkanah Watson's *Men and Times of the Revolution*, (New York, 1856), and his own *History of Essex County*.

ment I found a fine set of shining teeth; the hair of his head in excellent preservation completely matted with powder and pomatum as if recently done by the frizure. The que was very neat, the ribbon and double beau apparently new & jet black, but on touching it moldered between my thumb and finger. I concluded with Mr. Cuyler who alone was in the secret to send it to his family in England. On further consultation we thot that it would only open a fresh wound which bled nearly half a century ago and answer no valuable purposes.'

Among the documents in the Archives of St. Peter's is the receipt of William Boardmen, sexton, for the removal of sixteen bodies and their reinterment in the new St. Peter's. This number agrees by actual count with names found in the Church Book as buried within the fabric of the sacred building. To complete the chain of facts, it only requires the statement of Mr. Jesse Potts, a member of the building committee for the present church in 1859.[10]

At the demolition of the second St. Peter's Church two coffins were discovered under the chancel of the said church. One of them bore the inscription on a silver plate: 'In this coffin are the bones of my father, James Stevenson, and my five children.' This coffin was removed to the Albany Rural Cemetery. The other coffin was opened in the presence of the Building Committee. It contained the skull and larger bones of a human body, also a large tuft of human hair about six inches long, which was tied with black ribbon, stained but undecayed. This coffin bore no inscription, but was supposed to contain the remains of Lord Howe. The remains were deposited in a stout box which was buried under the vestibule of the present church, being enclosed within a brick wall which forms part of the foundation of the vestibule.

Opposed to the substantial facts which have now been detailed, there is a remarkable tale of the fancy and the imagination which would seek to deny what had been until twenty-one years ago, constantly affirmed, in manuscript, print, and by tradition. I hold in my hand a copy of the Ticonderoga Sentinel for Thursday, Oct. 17,

[10] Dr. Hooper's *History of St. Peter's Church, Albany*, p. 244.

1889,[11] in which there is given, reprinted from the issue of October 10th, this startling account:

LORD HOWE'S REMAINS

Discovered in Ticonderoga

Last Thursday by laborer while digging a trench for a Sewer for the Academy.

Thursday, Oct. 3rd, while some laborers in the employ of Alex Lee were digging a trench for a sewer from the Academy when in front of E. M. Gifford's place one of the men, Peter Dushane, discovered about four feet below the surface, a partially decayed coffin containing human remains. At the head of the coffin was a piece of plumbago or black lead, and a stone with one flat side. There has been considerable speculation as to whose remains they were. The place where they were found was carefully examined for any relict that might throw light on the subject, but nothing was discovered of the kind, save the rusty nails of the coffin which are old fashioned hand made nails, such as are found in the ruins of the old Fort. Peter Dushane took the piece of plumbago and the stone with him, just as they were, covered with a hard incrustation of lime and clay. On Wednesday evening, Mr. Dushane, who could neither read nor write, took the stone tablet to the law office of John C. Fenton, Town Clerk, and there after the removal of the clay it was found to be rudely chiselled with the following words:

IN MEM
OF
Lo. HOWE
KILLED
TROUT BROOK.

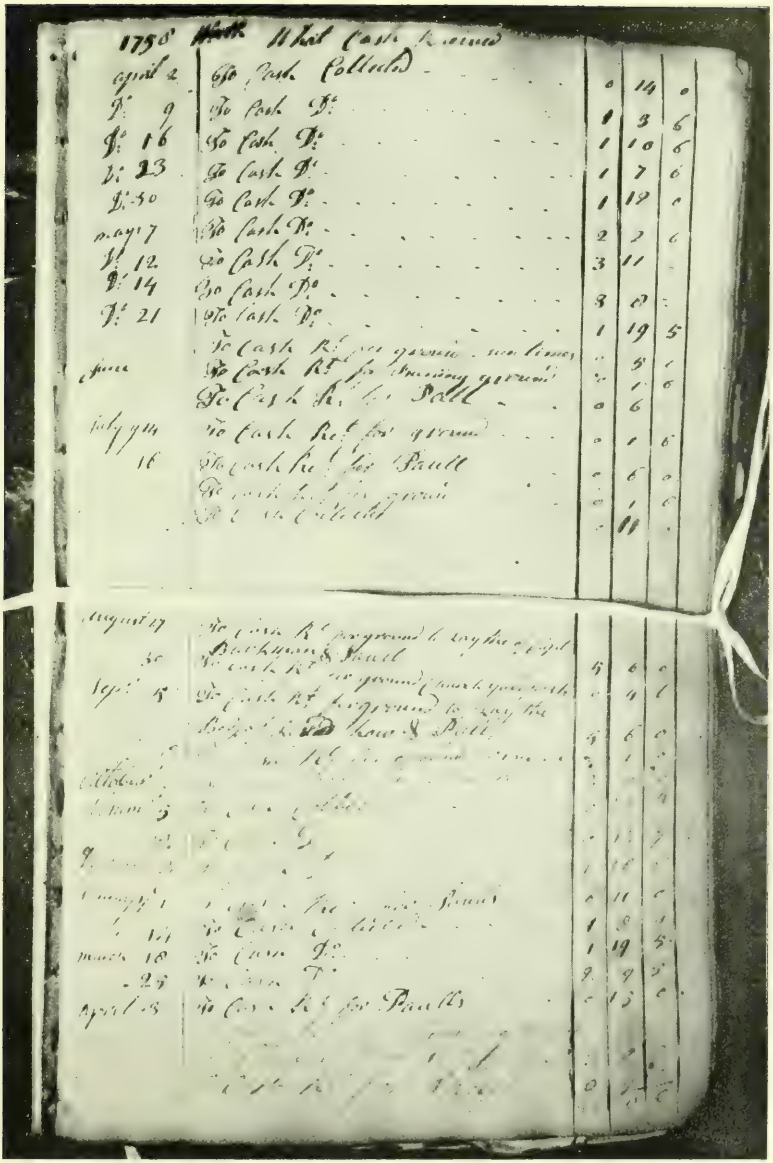
These words were evidently picked into the stone by a bayonet or other sharp instrument. It is a stone irregular in shape, apparently lime stone, with one partially smooth side about seven by nine inches, and will weigh thirty-five or forty pounds. The bones are partially, and some wholly, decayed, many of them being broken when removed from their resting place. The coffin was probably pine, although it is difficult to say, as the remains of the same are

[11] [I have verified this account as correct from my own copy of the issue of Oct. 10, 1889. J. A. H.]

in flakes or decayed pieces about 5-8 of an inch thick. The evidence seems to be conclusive that the remains are those of Lord Howe. They with the stone tablet, and piece of black lead ore have been placed in the hands of the Supervisor and Town Clerk for safe keeping, so they can be identified at any time. A number of years ago, our eminent townsman, Joseph Cook, erected a monument on the spot where Lord Howe was supposed to have fallen.

According to the statement of Robert Rogers, the scout, who with the Rangers, was in advance of the army on that July day, 1758, Lord Howe was shot in a skirmish while in lead of a pursuit of the French and Indians. Rogers was posted on rising ground, one quarter of a mile from 1,500 of the enemy who were at the saw mill at the lower falls, keeping watch of them until the main body of the army came up. It was near this rising ground that he said Lord Howe was killed. * * * The locality thus selected for the burial of Lord Howe, was on a knoll, slightly elevated above the surrounding country and evidently a very suitable spot for the resting place of so eminent a man.

No definite statement has ever been authoratively made as to the disposal of the remains of Lord Howe. It is true that in the foot notes to Watson's History of Essex County, it is stated by way of extract from Roger's Journal that his body was taken to Albany, and buried in St. Peter's, the old English Church in that place. It has been stated, and of this there is apparently no doubt, that when the old church was rebuilt in 1802, and again in 1859 no remains were found in the place to which they were alleged to have been conveyed. It is evident therefore that the body never was taken to Albany. It was hastily buried the night before the great battle; the stone rudely cut as well as the piece of graphite was placed in the grave as a means of future identification. The battle occurred the next day—the British retreated—the ground was held by the French. In the hurry and excitement of the flight of Abercromby's army, the grave was abandoned, and if any attempt was ever afterwards made to recover the remains, it was futile. But the place unmarked by outward signs to prevent depredation by the Indians, could not be identified. It has remained undisturbed, until one hundred and thirty-five years afterward, when the chance blow of a laboring man opened the grave of a man beloved by the colonials and the pride of the British Army.



Courtesy of Rev. Joseph Hooper

ST. PETER'S CHURCH BOOK

Lord Howe Entry Sept. 5th

We, therefore, believe that the grave of Lord Howe has at last been found, and we suggest that it remains for the citizens of Ticonderoga as well as for our whole country to properly and decently inter the relics of the illustrious dead, and erect a suitable memorial to his memory.

Our land does not boast of many dead heroes of the last century. Let us honor this man, whose grave has been so unexpectedly found.'

With no loss of time the people of Ticonderoga heralded far and wide, the discovery. Within two weeks a notice of it was read by Englishmen living in India. It has been incorporated into the sketch of Lord Howe in the English National Biography,[12] and has been firmly believed by men who have the reputation of historical scholars. Comment upon it was made by many papers, both in the State of New York and elsewhere. A long series of letters will be found in the newspapers of Albany, from October, 1889, to February, 1890. In these letters the writers took different views. Some claiming that the indisputable fact of the burial at Albany, could not be injured by any such story. * * *

Early in November, 1889, the Rev. Dr. Battershall, the well beloved rector of St. Peter's, searched the only available archive of the parish for some entry concerning the burial of Lord Howe, and was rewarded with finding the item already given as one of the 'statements.' This with the information concerning the removal in 1859, he embodied in a letter to the New York Evening Post. It is proper here to mention as bearing upon this subject, that statements concerning several burials within the fabric of the first St. Peter's are found in the "Church Book." Unfortunately there is no burial register for this period. But the matter contained in the Church Book, will be always of inestimable value to those who care for the history of the city and the ancient parish.

Professor Owen following his newspaper article wrote an extended account of the finding of the body and by a well arranged argument, sought to prove that the Albany tradition, as he called it, had no foundation in fact.[13]

[12] Miss Van Peyma, of the State Library, states that the *Dictionary of National Biography*, III, refers as its authority to the *Newcastle* (*Eng.*) *Weekly Chronicle*, supplement 2, (January, 1892).

[13] Prof. Owen's *Burial of Lord Viscount Howe*, pamph. n. p. n. d. 31 pp., with cut of stone and map of district around Ticonderoga, by D. M. Arnold, C. E.

On January 3rd, 1893, he read before this historic body, his paper, and reviewing at length the newspaper controversy, and the contradictory character of the various letters, declared that he had proved his point. * * *

The manner in which Mr. Owen disposes of the entry in the Church Book shows the speciousness of his argument.

'The entry in the treasurer's book of St. Peter's Church does not of itself establish the fact of the burial there. In view of the uncertain and conflicting testimony as to the disposition of the remains taken to Albany this entry might merely relate to the fact that there had been the purchase of some ground in anticipation of the reception of the remains. Under no circumstances would the mere purchase of a burial lot for the dead, of itself prove the fact of the interment of the dead in the lot, unless corroborated by other evidence. Besides it is a curious fact that the entry is in the nature of a debit entry, the entry is in September, two months after the death of Lord Howe. May we not as well infer that the entry has reference to money refunded to the Church after it was found impossible to bring the remains to Albany?'

The present writer in his examination of this claim thirteen years ago said: 'The entry concerning the burial of Lord Howe is similar in form to others of the same period; as for example:

1758, August 27, To cash Rt. for ground to lay the body of Captain Barkman Paull,	L.s.	d.
	5.6.	0.

The pall it will be remembered is a covering for the coffin used as the body is borne up the aisle or to the place of burial, and was only required for actual burials. There is no dispute concerning the receipts for other interments of a similar form. * * * The suggestion that it might have been money returned, must be dismissed for then it would appear in another place, and been in some other form as may be ascertained by several items found in the book, of funds received from church wardens and others, in whose hands they were.

Professor's Owen's paper, in a condensed form, was also read at a solemn re-interment on July , 1900, when in the presence of a large audience an oaken casket with silver plate containing the remains found was deposited in the Academy Park under a great

boulder, marked with the names of those prominent in the history of Lake Champlain and Ticonderoga.

Mr. Joseph Cook made one of his characteristic orations, and with a portion of the solemn burial office, pronounced by the Rev. John E. Bold, sometime rector of the Church of the Holy Cross, Ticonderoga, the final committal of the 'remains' until the Resurrection Day was made.

But it is useless to discuss here the paper of Dr. Owen (who has since died) in the light of our present knowledge of the resting place of the Honourable George Augustus Scrope, Lord Howe.

His paper will always remain one of the curiosities of literary imagination and mythical history.

What honor shall Albany pay to the memory of this young hero who died before he had achieved the fulness of his success? * * * [Dr. Hooper here gives a description of Westminster Abbey, the monument and its inscription, which is omitted as it also appears elsewhere].

This is the Hero's only memorial. What will the Capital City do for one who loved it and gave himself for its defense?"

APPENDIX III.

W. C. WATSON'S DESCRIPTION OF THE BURIAL OF LORD HOWE.

In his History of Essex County,[1] W. C. Watson, the well known historian of that region, and the one most generally referred to, in connection with the burial of Lord Howe at Albany, on account of his father's story of the exhumation of the body in 1802, says, regarding the death of his lordship at Ticonderoga, its effect on the army, and the subsequent interment of the body in Albany:[2]

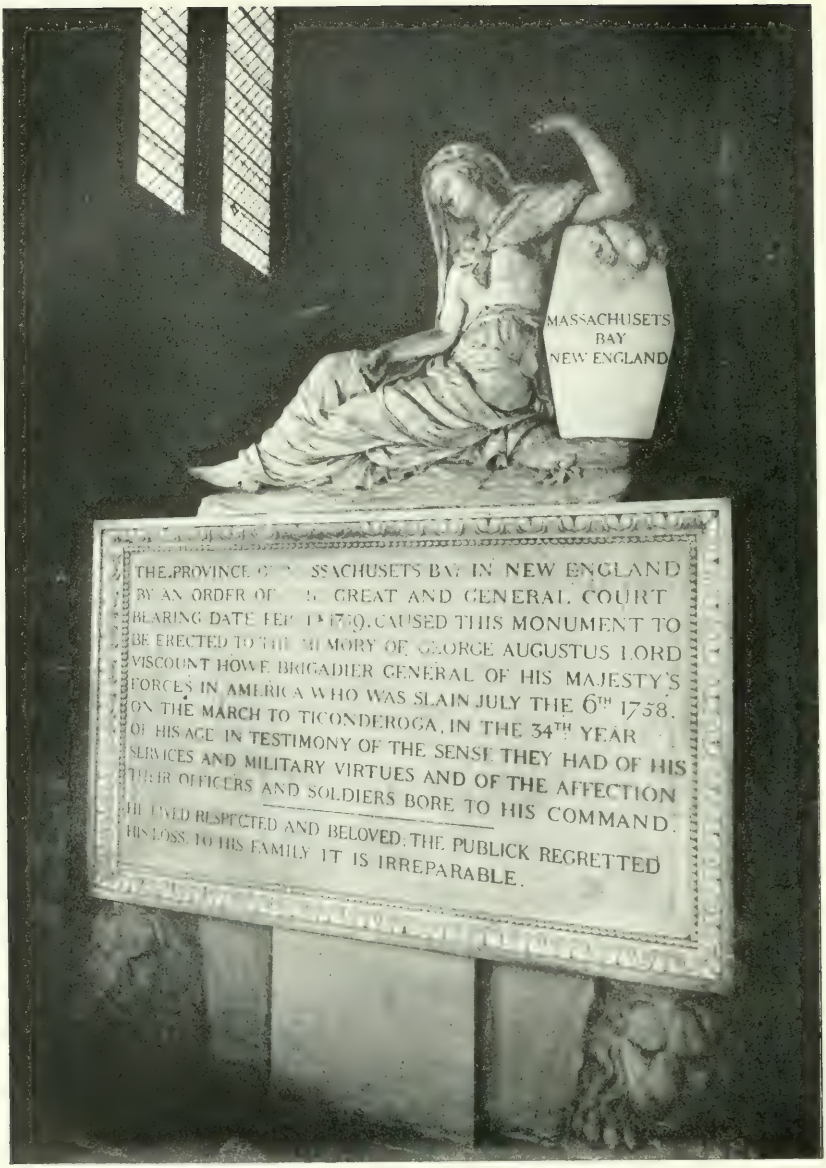
[1] Pp. 87-88.

[2] Practically the same article is to be found in *Trans. N. Y. Agri. Soc.* for 1852, in Watson's *Survey of Essex County*, pp. 88-89. Also in his *Fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga*, in the *Orderly Book at Ticonderoga*, Munsell, (Albany, 1859) pp. 186-187.

With him expired its spirit, its confidence, and hope. All afterwards was prompted by imbecility, indecision and folly. Generous and kind, gifted and accomplished, instinct with genius and heroism, Howe died deeply lamented. The next day a single barge retraced the track of the flotilla bearing the body of the young hero, who but yesterday had led its brilliant pageant. Philip Schuyler, then just entering upon his distinguished career, escorted the remains with all the tenderness and reverence due the illustrious dead. The body was conveyed to Albany and buried in St. Peter's Episcopal Church, which stood in the middle of State street. His obsequies were performed with every pomp of military display and all the solemnities of religious rituals. An heraldic insignia marked the location of the grave. Forty-four years had elapsed and in the progress of improvement, that edifice was demolished and the grave of Howe exposed. A double coffin was revealed. The outer one, which was made of white pine, was nearly decayed; but the other, formed of heavy mahogany, was almost entire. In a few spots it was wasted, and the pressure of earth had forced some soil into the interior. When the lid was uncovered, the remains appeared clothed in a rich silk damask cerement, in which they were enshrouded on his interment. The teeth were bright and perfect, the hair stiffened by the dressing of the period, the queue entire, the ribbon and double brace apparently new and jet black. All, on exposure, shrunk into dust, and the relics of the high bred and gallant peer were conveyed by vulgar hands to the common charnel house and mingled with the promiscuous dead. The character and services of Howe received the most generous tribute of respect and eulogium from the French.[1] Massachusetts, in gratitude and reverence, erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.[2]

[1] Montcalm's dispatch, Pouchot.

[2] I am indebted, in part, to a published letter of Mrs. Cochrane for the fact of the interment of Howe in St. Peter's, and to the manuscript of Elkanah Watson for the circumstances of the exhumation. The tradition that Howe, as an example to his troops, caused his hair to be cut short, has cast some doubt on the accuracy of the statement in the text. Pouchot alludes to the same fact, and says the hair was left "two fingers breadth long." (Pouchot, 1,110). In my judgment, if the story is correct, it does not conflict with the account in the manuscript. It was the fashion of the age to wear the hair in long locks or ringlets. This habit had probably been introduced into the army, and Howe desired to correct it. No motive of cleanliness, which was doubtless the prominent object with Howe, made the excision of the queue necessary. Short hair, rather than long, would have exacted careful dressing for a funeral preparation. The manuscript states that the identity of the grave was established not only by the coat of arms which surmounted it, but also by the recollection of Henry Cuyler, a half-pay British officer, who was at the time a highly respected resident of Greenbush.


MASSACHUSETS
BAY
NEW ENGLAND
THE PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND
BY AN ORDER OF THE GREAT AND GENERAL COURT
BEARING DATE FEB 14 1760. CAUSED THIS MONUMENT TO
BE ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF GEORGE AUGUSTUS LORD
VISCOUNT HOWE BRIGADIER GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S
FORCES IN AMERICA WHO WAS SLAIN JULY THE 6TH 1758.
ON THE MARCH TO TICONDEROGA, IN THE 34TH YEAR
OF HIS AGE IN TESTIMONY OF THE SENSE THEY HAD OF HIS
SERVICES AND MILITARY VIRTUES AND OF THE AFFECTION
THEIR OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS BORE TO HIS COMMAND.
HE LIVED RESPECTED AND BELOVED: THE PUBLICK REGRETTED
HIS LOSS. TO HIS FAMILY IT IS IRREPARABLE.

[Specially Taken by the Head Verger for J. A. Holden]
LORD HOWE'S MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

APPENDIX IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE HOWE MONUNENT, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

One of the most remarkable events connected with the death of Lord Howe was the erection to his memory of an elaborate monument in Westminster Abbey, by the Province of Massachusetts Bay. An unusual mark of respect, and esteem, by a Puritan colony to a Patrician soldier.

Dr. Samuel A. Green of the Massachusetts Historical Society writes:[1] "On February 1, 1759, the General Court of the Province of Massachusetts Bay voted 'the sum of Two Hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling, to be laid out in erecting a Monument to the Memory of the late Lord Howe.'"

Among the papers sent S. H. P. Pell, by Lord Browne, and turned over to the writer, was a copy of the "Resolution adopted by the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, order of the Great and General Court, by his Excellency the Governor, Council and Assembly." This reads as follows:

The Great and General Court bearing Testimony to the sence which the Province had of the services and Military virtues of the late Lord Viscount Howe who, fell in the last Campaign fighting in the Cause of the Colonies, and also to express the affection which their officers and soldiers bore to his Command.

Ordered that the Sum of Two Hundred and Fifty pounds sterling be paid out of the Publick Treasury to the order of the present Lord Viscount Howe for erecting a monument to his Lordship's memory, to be built in such manner, and situated in such Place as the present Lord Viscount Howe shall Choose.

And that His Excellency the Governor be desired to acquaint his Lordship therewith in such manner that the said Testimony may be engraved on such Monument.

Copy attest,

A. Oliver, Secy.

This paper being among the family records, shows that the intent of the Province was carried out, and the family must have

[1] His letter of Nov. 28th, 1910.

complied with the request, for Miss Lomas and her colleague Miss Diver have sent me excerpts from contemporary papers, as well as extracts from the standard books on the Abbey memorials. Miss Lomas writes:[1] "The Howe memorial at Westminster Abbey is just inside the West door of the Nave (N. side). Mrs. Murray-Smith's Roll-call from which I enclose an extract, gives a plan of the nave with monuments, showing its exact position. It was moved to its present position a good many years ago. Originally it was under one of the windows." Through Miss Lomas the writer secured a very fine photograph of the monument, reproduced herein, for the benefit of those who have never seen the original, in its hallowed and historic environment.

The contemporary and historic accounts are as follows:

Yesterday a beautiful Monument, designed by Mr. Stuart and executed by Mr. Scheemakers, to the Memory of the late gallant Lord Howe, was opened in Westminster Abbey. On the top is a Trophy of Arms in fine white Marble, and on a Flat Pyramid of black Marble, highly polished, are his Lordship's Arms, Coronet and Crest, in white Marble. On the top of the Monument sits a beautiful Figure of a Woman in a melancholy Position, and inimitably well executed representing the Province of Massachusetts Bay and underneath the following Inscription:

"The Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, by an Order of the Great and General Court, bearing Date Feb. 1, 1759, caused this Monument to be erected to the Memory of George Augustus, Lord Viscount Howe, Brigadier General of his Majesty's Forces in America, who was slain July 7, 1758, on his March to Ticonderoga, in the 34th Year of his Age; in Testimony of the Sense they had of his Services and Military Virtues, and of the Affection their Officers and Soldiers bore to his Command. He lived respected and beloved; the Public regretted his loss; to his Family it is irreparable." (*The St. James Chronicle or The British Evening Post,* London, from Tuesday, July 13, to Thursday, July 15, 1762, No. 210.)

Yesterday a curious Monument was opened in Westminster Abbey to the Memory of the Right Hon. George Augustus Viscount Howe, Brigadier General of his Majesty's Forces in America, who was slain there the Sixth of July, 1758. (*The Public Advertiser,* London, Thursday, July 15, 1762, Numb. 8641).

[1] Her letter of Dec. 7th, 1910.

The Monument of Brigadier General Viscount Howe, which is raised against the window— — — —was designed by I. Stuart, and sculptured by P. Scheemakers. It is, principally, of white marble, and consists of an immense tablet (supported by Lions' Heads on a plinth) having a regular cornice surmounted by a Female Figure, representing the Genius of Massachusetts Bay sitting mournfully at the foot of an obelisk, behind which is a trophy of military ensigns; and in front, the arms and crest of the deceased.

Inscription.

Arms: sculp. A Fess betn. three Wolves' Heads, couped: Howe. Crest: a Lion's Gamb, erased. (Edward W. Braley, *The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster,* II, p. 237).

"Viscount Howe (1758), elder brother of the great Admiral Howe (whose memorial is at St. Paul's) fell in the flower of his age, during the first disastrous expedition against Ticonderoga, before which fort he was killed. Wolfe speaks of him in terms of high praise, as "the noblest Englishman that has appeared in any time, and the best soldier in the British Army." The monument was put up by the people of Massachusetts, only a few years before the province severed itself from the Mother country, as a testimony to their gratitude, and to the general's worth—(E. T. Murray Smith, *The Roll Call of Westminister Abbey,* p. 343).

[Lord Howe, 1758, Monument erected June 14, 1762.] Massachusetts and Ticonderoga,[1] not yet divided from us, appear on the monument in the South aisle of the Nave, erected to Viscount Howe, the unsuccessful elder brother of the famous admiral. (Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D. D., late Dean of Westminister, *Monuments of the Eighteenth Century,* in *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey,* pp. 236-237.)

[1] Massachusetts is the female figure on the top of the monument. It was executed by Schumberg.

APPENDIX V

THE CREDIBILITY OF GENERAL ABERCROMBIE.

A careful study of both English and American compilers of history, has impressed the writer with the feeling that an act of injustice in the way of criticism and fault finding has been committed, in the case of General Abercrombie,[1] the leader of this expedition. He has been made the scapegoat of the affair by American writers, and some English ones. The following epithets have been applied to him by contemporary and later historians: Incompetent, imbecile, coward, pusillanimous, unready, poltroon, old squaw, booby-in-chief, old woman, blockhead, idiot, Mother Nabby Crombie, etc.

The bromidism "nothing succeeds like success" comes into full play here. Had Abercrombie succeeded, his detractors and critics would have been the first to have lauded him to the skies. As a matter of fact General Abercrombie was, for those days, a very fair example of an English general, accustomed to old world tactics[2] entirely out of sympathy with the colonial officers and forces, but possessed of that insular self-sufficiency and contempt for American ways and manners, which affected every English officer and leader, except Lord Howe, who came over to command our forces during the Colonial war, or was sent against us at the time of the War of the Revolution, or War of 1812.

General Abercrombie was born in the year 1706. Having obtained his company, he was commissioned as major in 1742, lieut.-colonel of the Royal Scots in 1744, served throughout the war in Flanders, in 1746 was promoted to colonel, serving as quartermaster-general in France, was wounded the following year in the Low Countries, made colonel of the Fiftieth Regiment in 1755, and in 1756 promoted to major-general. In March of the same year he was given the command of the Forty-fourth Regiment of Foot.

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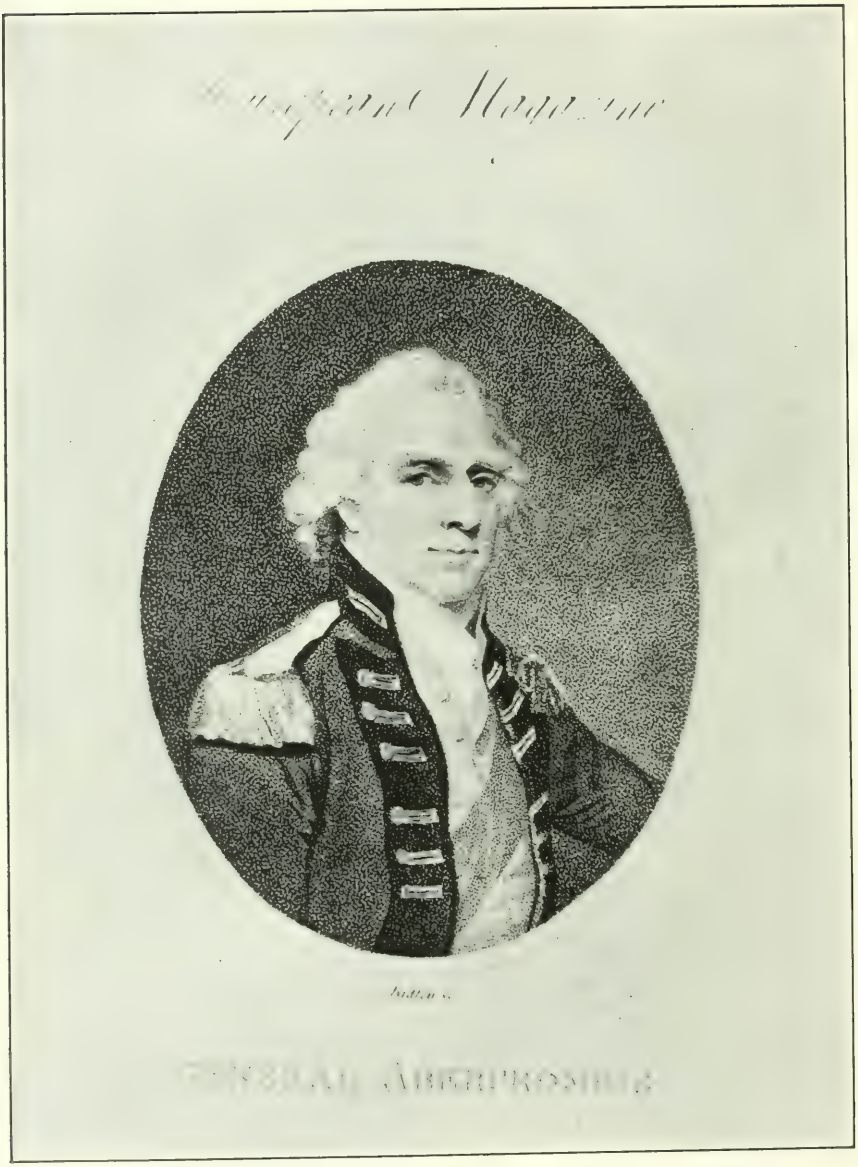
[1] For some reason American writers have chosen to spell the name with the termination "ie." The English usage was to write it with a "y" final.

[2] Abercrombie was a bluff but dull soldier. * * * He was brave even to rashness. * * * He always wanted to do everything with the bayonet * * * too obtuse to see any difference in the chance of that weapon, between the open plains of Europe and the tangled woods of America. A. C. Buell's *Sir William Johnson,* (N. Y. 1903), pp. 164-165.



From a Rare Print in Possession of James Austin Holden

MAJOR GENERAL JAMES ABERCROMBIE (1706-1781)

English Commander-in-Chief

He came to America in June of that year and served in 1757 under Lord Loudon against Louisburg. The fall of the same year he was made commander-in-chief of the American army, which carried with it the command of the Sixtieth or Royal Americans. After his defeat by Montcalm, July 8, 1758, he was recalled by the king and returned to England. Here he was triumphantly acquitted by a court martial, was made lieut.-general in March, 1759, and general in the Army in May, 1772, previous to which he had been apppointed deputy-governor of Sterling Castle. He died at his seat at Glassaugh, Banffshire, Scotland, April 23, 1781.[1] The fact that he was thus so greatly honored at home, must be taken into account in considering his credibility as a witness, which has been attacked in this matter.

One of his bitterest critics was Charles Lee at this time a subordinate officer, who was severely wounded in the attack on the French lines.[2] This was the same Lee who had treated Madame Schuyler so brutally a few weeks earlier, by impressing her cattle and doing other offensive deeds, but who was glad to call her an "angel" when, wounded and helpless, she cared for him after the battle.

It was the same Charles Lee who became one of our major-generals in the War of the Revolution and who for some of the very faults he condemned in Abercrombie, was tried by court-martial in 1778 at Brunswick, N. J., found guilty of disobedience of orders, of misbehaviour before the enemy by making an unnecessary and disorderly retreat, and of disrespect to General Washington the commander-in-chief.[3]

A great deal of contemporary history, as well as some of later date, was written by superannuated teachers and professional men, "decayed preachers" or subsidized historians. While in this country innate and ingrained prejudice prevented anything like a fair explanation of General Abercrombie's campaign being made at the time, and later historians have simply followed the lead of the older ones, without taking the trouble to look into the merits of the case or man. One writer states that Smollett and other historians of the period were deliberately hired to attack William

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.* VII, p. 345.
[2] The Charles Lee *Papers, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col.* (1871), pp. 6-15.
[3] *Memoirs of an American Lady* (N. Y. 1866), pp. 178-182. *Trial of*

Pitt for carrying on this war, claiming its continuance was unnecessary.[1] The opinion of the contemporary colonials or even of the officers with Abercrombie at the time, must be taken with several grains of allowance. No man was ever more bitterly criticised than General McClellan in our Civil War. But it was due to his foresight and ability to delay the game, that the Army of the Potomac was welded into one of the grandest fighting machines the world has ever known. So Abercrombie by his work, paved the way for the still more cautious Amherst the following year. The indictments brought against General Abercrombie by his contemporaries and later historians are practically the following: First, lack of ability. Second, making repeated frontal attacks without flanking movements. Third, not bringing up his artillery. Fourth, remaining in his tent, two miles away from the scene of action. Fifth, making a precipitate retreat instead of besieging the French fort, thus compelling it to surrender. Sixth, giving orders to remove the cannon at the head of the lake to Albany or New York.

Believing that very few writers of history, either of old or modern times would have been possessed of enough military ability to command a corporal's squad, much less a larger body of troops, under similar circumstances, the following facts are offered in rebuttal of the accusations: First, as to Abercrombie's ability. He had served with distinction on the European battlefields. Pouchot, an experienced French officer, calls him "an old and very prudent officer." He is also commended in a French account in the Paris Documents.[2] In the "Memoirs of an American Lady" he is called "a brave and able man, though rather too much attached to the military schools of those days, to accomodate himself to the desultory and uncertain warfare of the woods, where sagacity, ready presence of mind, joined with the utmost caution, and condescension of opinion to our Indian allies, was of infinitely more consequence than rules and tactics."[4]

Palfrey calls him "a well intentioned but sluggish officer."[5] General Wolfe's description of him is as follows: "Abercrombie is

[1] Anon. *Anecdotes of William Pitt,* (London 1792), I, pp. 176-177. *Major General Lee* (N. Y. 1864), pp. 238-239.
[2] Pouchot's *Memoirs,* (Hough ed.), I, p. 109.
[3] *Col. Doc.* X, p. 747.
[4] *Memoirs of an American Lady,* (N. Y. 1866), p. 175.
[5] Palfrey's *Compendious History of New England,* IV, p. 238..

a heavy man, and Brigadier P—the most detestable dog on earth, by everybody's acount. These two officers hate one another. Now, to serve in an army so circumstanced is not a very pleasing business."[1]

At this time General Abercrombie was fifty-two years old. He is spoken of in William Parkman's diary as "an aged gentleman infirm in mind and body—(William was seventeen at the time),[2] But when we realize that Wellington and Napoleon at Waterloo, were both forty-six years old;Gates at Saratoga forty-eight; Stark at Bennington forty-nine; Israel Putnam at the time of Bunker Hill fifty-seven and General Thomas Gage fifty-four; Sir William Howe when in command of the British Army fifty; Admiral Edward Boscowen prominent at Louisburg forty-nine, it seems ridiculous to attribute the age of this officer as one of the causes of defeat.

A modern English writer says of him: "He was fifty-two years of age, heavily built and lethargic, and prematurely old in appearance. By temperament he was wholly unfit for the great heat incurred in the bush in the month of July; enervated thereby, it is no wonder failure was a result. He had already expressed himself unfit for American service, and eagerly looked for his recall."[3]

From these descriptions it is plain that Abercrombie's greatest fault was in being over fifty, in having allowed himself to put on flesh, and in being a good liver.[4] None of these are strictly military faults, however. Compare our own General Shafter in the Spanish-American War, said to have been carried in a litter, but who had San Juan Hill, El Caney, and the Cuban Campaign, to his credit as the commanding officer.[5]

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1 Major William Wood's *Fight for Canada,* (London 1904), pp. 144-145.

2 Diary of William Parkman, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* (1879-1880), XVII, p. 243.

3 Hart's *Fall of New France,* (Montreal 1888), p. 88.

4 General Abercrombie, however, was still "wining in Albany as the records complain, when a change of ministry gave a new impetus to affairs." Mary Gay Humphrey's *Catherine Schuyler,* (N. Y. 1897), p. 55.

5 To the average man of 50, who feels his life work only half done, and himself fully qualified to finish and carry out the designs on the trestle-board, the age argument is puerile and nonsensical. Imagine our great financiers and captains of industry meeting with a set-back, and being scored in the press for the failure because they were too old for the game. Not to cite instances of competence of elderly men in our Civil War, let us consider the cases of our own successful generals competing with Great Britain and other

Answering the second and third criticisms, the official reports show that Abercrombie was informed, by his engineers and some officers, that the defences of the French were of such a nature as to be easily forced.[1] Such being the case, and the assault having been begun, for the very reasons stated by Mrs. Grant, the general would never admit that such an attack would possibly fail. As to bringing up the cannon, an attempt was made to use them, or at least the guns on the rafts. But a well directed fire from the fort sunk some of the boats and compelled a rapid retreat.[2] Several unsuccessful flank movements were made during the affair, and one French authority differs from the rest in denying the practicability of breaking through Montcalm's defenses. "As the men had to go down into a small gorge or hollow, so that the columns were forced in toward each other, making it necessary for them to avoid exposing themselves to a cross flanking fire." He also says of the boat incident, "thirty barges sent by Abercrombie to break up the French flank were dispersed by the cannon from the fort which sank two of them, while an assault on the others from the bank by a few men caused them to retreat."[3]

Judging by the average American or British writer's treatment the reader would never know that Abercrombie had even attempted such a manoeuvre.

A note to the original Memoirs of M. Pouchot says: "Some writers of that nation (English) have accused General Abercrombie of having failed in his duty, in not advancing his artillery with which to destroy the intrenchments of the French. This is all wrong, as cannon could have but slight impression upon works of this kind, as the late affair at Savannah is conclusive proof.[4] An

powers. Such as Andrew Jackson, who was 48 at New Orleans; Zachary Taylor, 62 in the Mexican War, and "old fuss and feathers," General Winfield Scott, who won his greatest victories in Mexico, at 61. In the Spanish-American war, the naval heroes Admirals Dewey and Schley were respectively 61 and 59. Generals Shafter and Lawton at San Juan and El Caney were 63 and 55. In the South African war, Christian De Wet, one of the greatest of the Boer generals, was 49, while the conquering generals, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener, were 68 and 52.

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, pp. 725, 734-735. J. W. Fortescue's *Hist. of British Army*, (London 1899), II, p. 331.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, pp. 723, 735-736, 749.

[3] Garneau's *Hist. of Canada*, (Bell ed. Montreal 1866), I, p. 538.

[4] Pouchot's *Memoirs*, I, p. 120. Compare also Jackson's successful fight at New Orleans behind his flimsy entrenchments. Lossing's *War of* 1812, p. 1035.

English authority says: "That the enemy were so well covered that they could with the greatest deliberation direct their fire without the least danger to themselves."[1]

Fiske compares the battle of Ticonderoga with the affairs of Bunker Hill and New Orleans. "The brother of the young general slain at Ticonderoga, preferred to assault entrenchments and suffered accordingly. So, too, at New Orleans, where the English General might have flanked General Jackson instead of attacking the entrenchments." With regard to Abercrombie, "he seems to have been influenced by undue haste."[2]

Mante speaks of the various opinions of the engineers, "who with some of the principal officers tried to get information; some pronounced the breastwork a well finished work, amongst them the chief engineer treated it as a flimsy construction, only strong in appearance. The General unfortunately accepted this view."[3]

As a matter of fact Ticonderoga was a very much over-estimated military position. Montcalm was on the point of abandoning it and retiring to Crown Point, and when persuaded by his officers to make a stand, the present "Lines" were decided upon, rather than a position nearer the fort. M. Pouchot gives the following counsel to Montcalm: "Sir, your intrenchments are proof against a hand assault, they can be held, and you have great hope of standing the shock. If they do not do it today, they cannot within two or three days, because they must open roads to bring up their artillery."[4] Owing to the nature of the ground, flanking attacks were impracticable, and as has been said before, the French being on the defensive easily repulsed those that were attempted.[5] One of Montcalm's engineers informed him of the possibility of the English putting cannon on the hill afterwards known as Mount Defiance, but he took the chance of its not being done, just as General St. Clair of the American forces took it in 1777, only to be outwitted by Burgoyne, who profited by Abercrombie's misjudgment and fortified it. The bitter criticism of St. Clair at the time can be read in any complete history of the Revolution, and still he was

[1] Wynnes' *Gen. Hist. of British Empire,* (London 1770) II, p. 86.
[2] John Fiske's *New France and New England,* (Boston 1902), IX, pp. 317-325.
[3] Thomas Mante's *Hist. of Late War in N. A.,* (London 1772), p. 147.
[4] Pouchot's *Memoirs,* I, pp. 115-116.
[5] *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X,, p. 743.

acquitted by a competent military court martial, for a much more serious fault than that of Abercrombie, in 1758. Dr. Thacher says: "This mount it is said ought long since to have been fortified by our army, but its extreme difficulty of access and the want of * * * men, are the reasons assigned for its being neglected." Major General Heath in his "Memoirs" says: "This steep and rugged hill was thought to be inacessible by the Americans, at least with artillery."[1]

Mrs. Grant states that the Schuylers regarded this expedition "with a mixture of doubt and misery, knowing too well from the sad retrospect of former failures, how little valor and discipline availed where regular troops had to encounter with unseen foes, and with difficulties arising from the nature of the ground, for which military science afforded no remedy. Of General Abercrombie's worth and valor they had the highest opinion; but they had no opinion of attacking an enemy so subtile and experienced on their own ground, in entrenchments, and this they feared he would have the temerity to attempt."[2]

As to remaining in his tent, the place for a commanding officer unless leading a forlorn hope as Montcalm supposed he was doing, is in the rear, and not at the front. There was no need of special attention or of further orders.[3] It was a case where a small force was to be crushed by much larger one, and the men must be sacrificed, just as Grant sacrificed them at the Battle of the Wilderness, gaining all sorts of epithets thereby, from his enemies.

It does not appear anywhere, nor is it claimed by his critics that the regular and usual preliminaries were omitted by Abercrombie, dispirited though he was over the death of Lord Howe. He had proper entrenchments thrown up at the Mills to protect a retreat if necessary, his dispositions were tactical, and his attack planned in due form according to the information he had.

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1 Dr. James Thacher's *American Revolution* (N. Y. 1860), p. 82. Major Gen. Heath's *Memoirs*, (N. Y. 1904), p. 131.

2 *Memoirs of an American Lady*, p, 178.

3 Major Rogers states, on what authority is not known, "this attack was begun before the general intended it should be. And as it were by accident from the fire of the New Yorkers on the left wing. Upon which Colonel Haviland being in or near the center, ordered the troops to advance." Rogers' *Journals* (London 1765), p. 116.

The attack was remarkable for two things. It was the first and most important engagement in colonial warfare up to the time, fought exclusively between white men.[1]

Then, very few colonials were used on either side, the New York troops being an exception, and suffering a greater loss in proportion, than some of the regulars and most of the provincials.[2] Those of the colonial troops not in the combat, fired at long range and in an undisciplined way, killing many of the British, it is claimed, thus adding to the terrors of the affair, and helping to promote the panic which followed.[3] This according to an officer, was "one of those strange and dreadful scenes to break an officer's heart."[4] It has often been compared to Bull Run. One of the fairest and best accounts of the attack and retreat the writer has seen, appears in Kingsford's "History of Canada," and would be critics of Abercrombie, are advised to read this work, written from a different, excellent and just point of view, before passing final judgment upon the man.[5]

The criticism made of Abercrombie for ordering his cannon sent away may be better answered by a contemporary, the Rev. Daniel Shute, a chaplain in one of the provincial regiments, who says under date of July 9:[6] "The Army returned to W Henry unpursued by Y^e^ Enemy. So many regular officers were slain in Battle a Council of War, it seems could not be held on that side of the Lake. It is here confidently reported that two 24^lb^ Cannon were ordered by an express from sd Gen^l^, too this side from the lake to Fort Edward, and ordinance stores from Albany stoped on road. *Consummate Prudence; if y^e^ French should beat our army from y^e^ Lake, y^e^ Cannon would help them make a vigorous stand at Fort Edward, and if obliged to abandon that; warlike stores would be necessary at Albany* * * * "

July 10 * * * Hear y^e^ 2 Cannon were bro't back no farther, than y^e^ half way Brook."

Abercrombie's ordering a retreat was not only good generalship but the only thing to do. To have stayed at Ticonderoga and

[1] John S. Nicolay in *The Chautauquan,* (May 1892), XV, p. 145.
[2] *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 731, vide list of officers killed.
[3] Thomas Hutchinson's *History Province Massachusetts Bay,* (London 1828), III, p. 73.
[4] J. W. Fortescue's *History of British Army,* (London 1899), p. 331.
[5] Kingsford's *History of Canada,* IV, pp. 161-176.
[6] Daniel Shute's Journal, *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.,* (April 1874), XII, p. 138.

beseiged it, would have been madness. Would-be military critics very generally overlook the fact that Montcalm had "two openings out of the bag." Only three years before Dieskau had invaded the colony, by way of Champlain, Wood Creek and the war-path from what is now Whitehall to Fort Edward. That path was still open to the southward, and DeLevis with 3,000 men was expected. Unless Abercrombie, defeated, could get to the head first, DeLevis might by a side march easily capture the English position. This would be the natural conclusion, and the natural action at the time.[1] The fact that DeLevis had already arrived at Ticonderoga, bringing only a few hundred men, which was not known to Abercrombie at the time of the retreat, nor when he despatched Bradstreet to Fontenac, charging him to "Watch the Motions of Mor. de Levy and prevent his advancing and penetrating towards the Oneida Carrying Place," does not alter the case. There was but one thing for the general to do and he did it—return to the head.[2]

Abercrombie's retreat to the head of the lake, his erection there of fortifications against an expected attack of the enemy, the drill and military operations to get the troops into shape, marred somewhat by the constant desertion of the New England men, the details of regiments and men to protect the frontiers from the incursions of the French after the Half-way Brook and Putnam affairs, the building of a sloop and boats to guard the lake, were all excellent military measures.[3] As Kingsford says: "Whatever

1 Mante speaks of the first flight being stopped at the saw-mills, where a rally took place. Abercrombie's order to march to the landing place renewed the panic. Col. Bradstreet's work in preventing the soldiers from overloading the boats prevented the death of many of them. "This prudent behavior of the Colonels having afforded the General time to restore a little order, the troops kept their ground that night." (p. 149). He says further: "The prodigious preparations against Ticonderoga were carried on by two or three gentlemen, subordinate in command; but men in whose military abilities, resolution, and activity the army justly confided. When Lord Howe was killed, a kind of despondency ensued; and the manner in which the attack of that place was conducted, too plainly proved, that there existed sufficient grounds for such despondency. All, however, that courage could, was done. Although the English were beaten off by a number greatly inferior, they lost not a jot of honour by their retreat. (p. 159.)

2 Gertrude Selwyn Kimball's *Correspondence of William Pitt,* (N. Y. 1906), pp. 301-302.

3 For incidents connected with the encampment at the head of the lake, consult the various diaries, letters and journals mentioned herein. See also our *Transactions,* VI, pp. 169-189.

the first fault of Abercrombie, after the repulse he acted with judgment, and his conduct is beyond reproach."

The Earl of Bute addressed Pitt as follows:[1] "The general and the troops have done their duty, and appear, by the number lost, to have fought with the greatest intrepidity; to have tried all that men could do to force their way. The commander seems broken-hearted with being forced to retreat."

While Grenville wrote him * * * The great number of officers and men in the regular troops killed and wounded, and particularly the loss we have sustained in the death of Lord Howe, are circumstances that would cloud a victory, and must therefore aggravate our concern for a repulse. * * * But to do justice to so many brave men as have fallen upon this occasion, the officers and troops of that army seem to have been animated with a zeal and spirit that requires no additional incitement.[2]

It is only fair and just to compare here what was accomplished by Abercrombie with the achievements of the other leaders in the Campaign of 1758. To General Forbes afflicted with a mortal disease, sick every minute of the time and carried in a litter as the troops marched along, "iron-headed" and unwilling to take advice from Washington or other colonials, due credit for the capture of Fort DuQuesne must be given. Although as commander-in-chief he must be blamed for the avoidable wiping out of Major Grant's detachment by the French and Indians. But why he should have taken from July to November to march through the present state of Pennsylvania, building unnecessary roads when the Braddock road could have been used, and then attack a fort which he knew through the report of deserters from the French, to have been practically abandoned, has never been explained, (although often attempted,) with complete satisfaction to enquiring minds.[3]

Nor was Amherst's conduct at Louisburgh without fault. A number of days were wasted ostensibly waiting for suitable weather

[1] Cor. *William Pitt Earl of Chatham,* (London 1838), I, p. 335.

[2] Id. p. 339.

[3] Hildreth's *Hist. of U. S.* (N. Y. 1877), II, p. 484. *Gentleman's Magazine,* (London 1759), pp. 171-174. Fortescue, II, p. 335. Smollett's *England,* —(Forbes left Philadelphia early in July and reached Fort DuQuesne Nov. 25). II, pp. 292-293. Bradley's *Fight with France for North America,* (N. Y. n.d.), pp. 267-287. *Complete History of the War,* (Dublin 1766), pp. 125-126.

and a quiet sea, and when the attack was finally made and the landing effected, it was through the zeal and eagerness of several subaltern officers and their crews, who landed without orders, compelling General Wolfe to follow them immediately to protect their landing.[1]

In fact, both Forbes' and Amherst's expeditions, when carefully analyzed, were successful through flukes, rather than from any superior military skill or planning of the individual leaders. As a matter of fact, Amherst as a general was no better than, nor as good as, Abercrombie. His Campaign of 1759, in which he wasted several hundred thousand pounds sterling, in the attempted construction of useless, uncompleted and unneeded forts on Lake George and Champlain, and in carefully delaying his advance while Wolfe waited for him in vain, being finally forced to attack Quebec alone, except for the assistance of the fleet,[2] shows him to have been possessed of a cautiousness to call it by no other name, which but few of his worst enemies attributed in connection with Ticonderoga to Abercrombie.[3]

To Abercrombie's credit must be placed, too, the permission to Bradstreet to attempt the reduction of Fort Frontenac, and supplying him with troops to do it with. It was the capture of this fort which opened the way to General Forbes for the taking of DuQuesne, and by destroying an enemy's base, made Amherst's bloodless victory at Ticonderoga a possibility, in the following year, 1759.

Called brave and prudent by those who knew him well, a capable officer after the first great blunder of listening to young and inexperienced staff-officers, one of whom (Clerk the engineer) paid for his mistake with his life, his faults overlooked and his merits rewarded by his king, no one can justly or properly say that James Abercrombie's report as to Lord Howe and the disposition of his remains, are not credible, or in any way successfully impeach him as a competent and sufficient witness, in the matter of that nobleman's interment.

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1 Bradley, pp. 221-222. *Complete Hist. of the War,* pp. 95-96. Trumbull's *Hist. of U. S.* (Boston 1810), I, p. 377. Smollett says "Amherst approached Louisburgh with great circumspection, building redoubts, etc." *Hist. England* II, p. 281.

2 Bradley, p. 311. Trumbull, p. 399, *Hist. of the War,* p. 198.

3 If Admiral Sampson was entitled to credit for the victory of Santiago Bay in 1898, when miles away from the conflict, as certain New England politicians and some naval bureaucrats have tried to make out, certainly Abercrombie is entitled to all the credit for Frontenac, for he had to order the attack there, and furnish the force to subdue it.

APPENDIX VI.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758.

For the purpose of affording all possible aid to any historical student who may care, at some future time, to investigate the Campaign of 1758, the accompanying list, comprising many of the volumes and articles examined by the writer, is submitted as a partial and rough bibliography of the period.

The principal source books for the average investigator are of course, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* Volume X; Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America,* Volume V; and the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1905, Volume II.

In the former volume, the following references are to be consulted:

Howe, How, Haw, (Daw, Dawh), Geo. Augustus, 3rd. Viscount. —***Killed at Ticonderoga,*** pp. 724-727, 730, 738, 741, 744, 749, 797, 809, 816, 847-848, 895, 921. *Biog.* p. 735. *No. men under his command,* p. 892. *Official despatches and documents relating to the military operations before Ticonderoga,* pp. 721-725. *List of officers killed and wounded,* pp. 728-732. *Another account of the operations at Ticonderoga (translated from a French letter in Penn. Arch.* III, p. 472), pp. 734-736. *Montcalm's report, pp.* 737-744. *Letter M. Doreil,* pp. 744-751. *Howe skirmish described,* pp. 747, 845. *Letter and dispatch M. Doreil,* pp. 752-756. *Reasons why Montcalm did not follow Abercrombie and attack him at Fort William Henry,* pp. 757-761. *Comments on Montcalm's retreat from the landing place,* pp. 781-798. *Montcalm's observations on Vaudreuil's letter,* pp. 800-805. *Letter M. Daine, Lord Howe skirmish,* p. 814.

In Winsor, see for *Campaign,* pp. 520-527. For *Special Works,* pp. 596-603. For *General Works,* pp. 615-621. For *Cartography and Depiction,* pp. 522-526, 536-537, 557, 614. As Winsor, however, only covers authorities published to 1887, a few later works of possible importance may be found in Hart's *The American Nation,* (New York, 1905), VII, pp. 296-305.

In *The Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1905, II, is an exhaustive *Bibliography* of the Publications, Pro-

ceedings and Transactions of the various Historical Societies and Associations of the United States and Canada to that time. On pp. 1124 and 1291 of the Index, are references particularly relating to this campaign, while others may be found under the proper headings of the various publications.

A. CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS.

Among the principal contemporary accounts are the following, the *Boquet Papers* being in mss. as well as the *Partridge* and *Williams* letters, but all the rest having been published as stated.

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Letter from a New Englander, *Gentleman's Magazine,* (London, 1760), XXIX, p. 224.

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Letter from Rev. Samuel Hopkins, *N. J. Hist. Soc. Pro.,* (1853-55), VII, pp. 126-128.

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William Parkman's *Journal in Mass. Hist. Soc. Pro.,* (1879-1880), XVII, pp. 243-244.

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F. M. Ray ed. *Journal of Dr. Caleb Rea,* (Salem, Mass., 1881), pp. 24-26; also in *Hist. Col. Essex Inst.,* (April, May. June, 1881), pp. 102-104.

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Caleb Stark, *Memoir General John Stark,* (Concord, 1860), pp. 25-26. Also same vol. *Memoir Col. Robert Rogers,* pp. 434-436.

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Israel William's *Mss.* in Mass. Hist. Soc. Library, Letter from Col. Oliver Partridge, Lake George, July 12, 1758; also Letter from Col. Wm. Williams, Lake George (Sorrowful Scituation) July ye 11, 1758.

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B. LOCAL HISTORY.

The Campaign of 1758, is very thoroughly treated in most of the local histories of this section of the state. A great many of these books however are out of print, scarce and "happy should he be, who has his book-case full of them." The list is as complete as possible;—in it have been included a number of Guide Books, which are of interest to the special student:

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II.

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Photo by S. R. Stoddard, Glens Falls

View at Old Fort Ti, Looking West—Showing Fort Ticonderoga on Right, Outlet of Lake George in Center and Mount Defiance at Left; With Ticonderoga Peninsula and Lake Champlain in Foreground

Ruins of Fort Amherst at Crown Point

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E. POETRY OF THE CAMPAIGN.

Unlike most of the stirring events of history, the French and Indian War raised up no Epic poet to sing its triumphs and record its failures in measured verse. I have discovered so far only two contemporary poems, two which had their inspiration a century or so later on the honored soil of Old Ticonderoga, one of intermediate date and one of very recent publication.

In the *Essays, Humor and Poems* of Nathaniel Ames, with notes and comments by Sam. Briggs, (Cleveland, 1891), the Almanack for 1758 has this curious prophecy for July, p. 281:

AND now,
'Twixt Host and Host, but narrow space is left,
A dreadful interval! and Front to Front
Presented, stand in terrible Array
Of hideous length———dire is the Noise
Of Conflict.———

The death of Lord Howe is noted in a Poem on the Chronology of the War, pp. 339-342, under date of July 5, 1758.

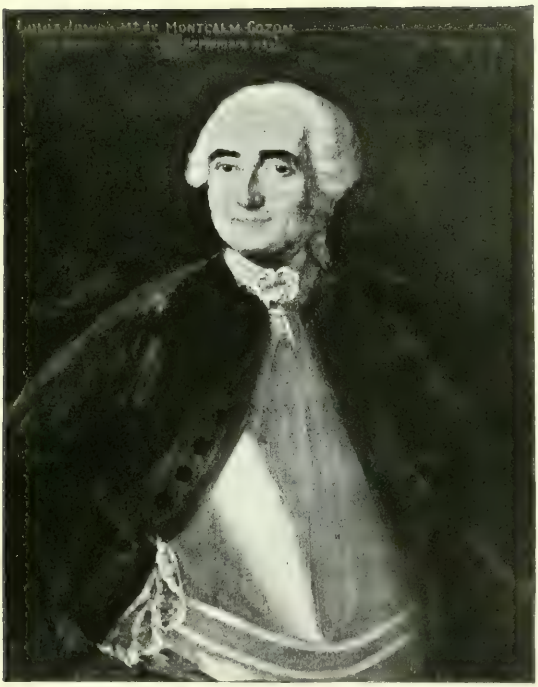
Since noble *Howe* lay prostrate on the Ground,
And the Whole Armies Soul fled thro' his Wound.

The *London Magazine* for 1759, has the following, which was copied in Dawson's *Historical Magazine,* (for March, 1861), p. 61. It purports to have been written "By a Lady in America."

On The Defeat at Ticonderoga or Carilong.

"Neglected long had been my useless lyre,
And heartfelt grief represt the poet's fire;

But rous'd by dire alarms of wasting war,
Again, O muse, the solemn dirge prepare,
And join the widow's, orphan's, parent's tear.
Unwept, unsung shall Britian's chiefs remain;
Doomed in this stranger clime to bleed in vain?
Here a last refuge hapless Braddock found,
When the grim savage gave the deadly wound:
Ah! hide Monongahel thy hateful head
(Still as thy waves roll near the injured dead)
On whose gore-moistened banks the Num'rous slain,
Now spring in vegitative life again,
Whilst their wan ghosts as night's dark gloom prevail
Murmur to whistling winds the mournful tale;
Cease, cease, ye grisley forms, nor wail the past
Lo! A new scene of death exceeds the last;
Th' empurpled fields of Carilong survey
Rich with the spoils of one disastrous day!
Bold to the charge the ready vet'ran stood
And thrice repell'd, as oft the fight renewed,
Till (life's warm current drain'd) they sunk in blood.
Uncheck'd their ardor, unallay'd their fire,
See Beaver, Proby, Rutherford, expire;
Silent Britannia's tardy thunder lay
While clouds of Gallick smoke obscur'd the day.
Th' intrepid race nursed on the mountain's brow
O'er-leap the mound, and dare th' astonished foe;
Whilst Albion's sons (mow'd down in ranks) bemoan
Their much loved country's wrongs nor feel their own;
Chearless they hear the drum discordant beat—
And with slow motion sullenly retreat.
But where wert thou, oh! first in martial fame,
Whose early cares distinguish'd praises claim,
Who ev'ry welcome toil didst gladly share
And taught th' enervate warrior want to bear.
Illustrious Howe! whose ev'ry deed confest
The patriot wish that Fill'd thy generous breast;
Alas! too swift' t' explore the hostile land,
Thou dy'dst sad victim to an ambush band,



Courtesy of Ticonderoga Historical Society

LOUIS JOSEPH, MARQUIS de MONTCALM

Gozon de Saint Veran (1712-1759)

French Commander-in-Chief

Nor e'er this hour of wild confusion view'd
Like Braddock, falling in the pathless wood;
Still near the spot where thy pale coarse is laid,
May the fresh laurel spread its amplest shade;
Still may thy name be utter'd with a sigh,
And the big drop swell ev'ry grateful eye;
Oh! would each leader who deplores thy fate
Thy zeal and active virtues emulate,
Soon should proud Carilong be humbled low
Nor Montcalm's self, prevent th' avenging blow."

In *The Wars of America*, or a *General History*, by A Revolutionary Soldier, (Baltimore, 1839), occurs this extract:

Campaign of 1758.

The enterprise against Crown Point,
To Abercrombie was assigned.
Ticonderoga, the main complaint
Of Indian haunts and French combined.
Lord Howe, young, able, noble, bold,
Accomplished, to perform his task,
Under 'Crombie to unfold,
The tragedy that future masked.
With seventeen thousand soldiers brave,
Courageous veterans, famed in war,
Fronting all danger to the grave,
The musket, sword, and cannons' roar.

Attack on Ticonderoga.

Arriving near Ticonderoga,
Mars, meets our heroes on the plain,
Skirmish ensued, the passing road
Sorely beset, Lord Howe is slain.
The British saw, their leader fall;
With Spartan bravery charged the foe,
Havoc, slaughter, powder and ball,
Cover the field with sickening woe.
Three hundred victims slaughtered lay,
Bleeding and gasping, on the ground;
The blood of Howe avenged—the day

Thus reader! worth and mortal life
Must bow, in battle's dreadful field;
Lord Howe, the brave, immortal strife,
Lost all his earthly—dead and sealed.
Records the battle's awful sound.
We mourn his fate, his virtues dear;
'Tis all that memory, now can give;
A sigh, a tributary tear,
While his immortal only lives.

In the verse of that gifted son of Ticonderoga, the Hon. Clayton H. DeLano's *Centennial Poem,* (1864, as reprinted by the Ticonderoga Historical Society in 1909), on p. 6, is this stanza:

VI.

Just by the brook near yon eventful shade
Where foaming water forms a wild cascade
Where ivy's clustering tendrills twine
Round the gnarled oak and scraggy stunted pine

* * * * *

Here, once a forest waved, by that run
Gleamed glistening bayonets in the noon-day sun.
Here foe met foe; here flashed the burnished steel
As rank on rank now charge or backward reel.
While crackling rifles drownd the noisy flood
And robed the scene in anguish and in blood.
The Britons conquered, yet no cheer was heard
The deepest feeling every bosom stirred.
That night they slept, not on the victor's bed
They could not sleep—the gallant Howe was dead.

That eloquent orator and master of English prose or verse, Dr. Joseph Cook, refers thus to this incident in his Poem, *Ticonderoga and Montcalm,* in *Harper's Monthly,* (August, 1875), p. 369:

VII.

Abercrombie answereth Montcalm,
Strikes across the crystal lakelet
When the summer fills the mountains.
England's arm hath brawny muscles;
See a thousand flashing barges,

And the blue-coats and the red-coats,
And the tartans from Loch Lomand,
And the sunlight on the forests,
And the mirrored oaks and maples,
Breathing beeches, silver birches,
Giant pines on mighty summits,
Iris sheen and iris sparkles,
And the sword glare in the waters;
Hear the pibroch from Loch Katrine,
And the neighing of the horses,
And the crackle of the armor,
And the clashing of the oar-locks,
And the sigh of harping islets,
And the pebbly fret of white strands,
And the dewy drip of bird songs,
And the echoing of the bugles.
Nine blue thousands are Provincials,
Bred with panthers and the eagles,
Men who smoothed a New World's rough face,
And the cradle of its future
Rocked beneath its singing pine-trees,
Putnam, Rogers and his rangers;
Six red thousands British soldiers,
Burnt by suns beyond the salt seas,
Scarred in Fontenoy and Black Watch,
Led by Howe, who on his bear-skin
Couched last night and talked of triumph,
But who goes to God tomorrow.
From the giant tangled dark woods
On the Trout Brook, at the ambush
Wet with mist of roaring cascades,
Floateth up his strong white spirit.
See one lonely barge returning
Where a thousand spanned the clear depths,
Threads the islands with his pall,
Bears an army's heart beneath it.
In the Abbey of Westminster
Wrote his name young Massachusetts,
Carved the word Ticonderoga
On the proud and pallid marbles.

In Percy MacKay's Poems (N. Y., 1909), occurs "*Ticonderoga,*" read at the 300th Anniversary of Discovery of Lake Champlain at Fort Ticonderoga, July, 1909. Death of Lord Howe is treated on pp. 6-9; the battle, pp. 9-12.

QUI VIVE? Their muskets flare the wood;
FRANCAIS! Their wild cheers start;
Lord Howe is dropt down where he stood,
A hot ball through his heart.
They drive them back, they drown their boast
In blood and the rushing river,
But the heart of Abercromby's host—
The Lord of Hosts deliver!

* * * * *

The soul of Abercromby's host
Follows Lord Howe—his shining ghost;
On stormy ridge and parapet
It rides in flame, it leads them yet;
Smiling, with wistful image wan,
A dead man leads the dying on.
And Campbell, Laird of Inverawe,
Hath met the doom his dream foresaw;
Pierced by his murdered kinsman's eyes,
His clansmen bear him where he dies.
Lord Howe, Lord Howe, why shouldst thou fall!
Thy life it was the life of all;
Thy death ten thousand hath undone.
England hath sunken with the sun.
Ticonderoga's lost and won!

F. MAPS AND DEPICTION.

Fred W. Lucas, *Appendiculae Historicae,* (London, 1896). A Topographical Map of Hudson River, with the Channels, depth of water, rocks, shoals, &c., and the County adjacent, from Sandy Hook, New York and Bay to Fort Edward, also the communication with Canada by LAKE GEORGE AND LAKE CHAMPLAIN, as high as Fort Chambly on Sorel River. By Claude Joseph Sauthier, on the Original Scale of Four Miles to One Inch. Engraved

by William Faden, successor to the late Mr. Jeffreys, Geographer to the King, Charing Cross. Published according to Act of Parliament, Oct. 1st, 1776, by Wm. Faden, Corner of St. Martins Lane, Charing Cross, London; p. 104.

A Map—Reduced from Capt. Holland's map of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, published 1775, in Jeffrey's American Atlas. (Mr. Bond on his Map of Hudson River places this Lake about 16 leag^{s} higher), p. 120.

A Map reduced from a Map dated 1774, in Jeffrey's American Atlas, p. 114. None of these maps show Trout Brook named. Also refers to other maps pp. 172, 173, 174, 175.

Anderson-Flick, *History State of New York*, (1902), *map of French and Indian War*, p. 55.

George Bancroft, *History of the United States*, (Boston, 1852), IV; shows map of the locality of the fight to face p. 305.

Katherine Schuyler Baxter, *A Godchild of Washington*, (1897). An unusual picture of Lord Howe to face p. 46.

W. F. Beers, map of Lake George and vicinity, (N. Y., 1876). Shows locality.

A. J. Bradley, The Fight With France For North America, (New York, n. d.) Topographical maps to face title page and to face p. 238.

Bryant & Gay, *History of the United States*, (New York, 1879), III. Cut of the Field of Abercrombie's Defeat, p. 299. Cut of "Fort Ti." p. 302.

Catalogue of maps and Surveys, in the offices of the Secretary of State, &c., (Albany, 1859), p. 153, office vol. XVIII. Map of two tracts of land, surveyed for JOHN STOUGHTON, late Lieut. in one of His Majesty's independent companies on foot; situate and lying in the County of Albany, July 4, 1764; Alex'r Colden, Surveyor-General; (Ticonderoga, Essex County). Map of 2,000 acres of land on the west side of the water running from Lake George to Lake Champlain, in the County of Albany; surveyed for JOHN KENNEDY, late Lieutenant in His Majesty's Sixtieth Regiment on Foot.; Alex'r Colden, Surveyor-General; Aug. 1, 1764 (Ticonderoga, Essex County).

Documentary History of New York, (Albany, 1849), I. Sauthier map on large scale, to face p. 774.

Timothy Dwight, LL. D., *Travels,* (London, 1823), III, map of New York showing Lake George and Lake Champlain to face title page.

Rev. John Entick, *General History of the Late War,* (London, 1765), picture of Lord Howe to face p. 209.

John Fiske, *New France and New England,* (Boston, 1902), IX. Map of Lake George, p. 313. Picture of Montcalm, p. 356.

Map *Forest, Fish and Game Commission State of New York,* (1900), shows accurate topography of the region.

Hon. J. W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army,* (London, 1899), copies Meyer's map, p. 338.

John Frost, *Remarkable Events in the History of America,* (Philadelphia, 1848), I, picture of the Earl of Chatham, William Pitt p. 626. Picture Gen. Abercrombie's army crossing the lake, p. 631. Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, p. 633.

F. X. Garneau, *History of Canada* (Montreal, 1866), I, map of Canada, Lake George-Champlain Region at back of book.

Gentleman's Magazine for 1757, XXVII, map of "the Country back of Albany drawn in 1756 shows Fort Edward, Fort William Henry, Lake George, Ticonderoga, Crown Point or Fort Frederick, Lake Champlain," etc., to face p. 74. Id. for 1758, XXVIII, maps. Id. for 1759, XXIX, Map of country between Crown Point and Fort Edward, showing route of Dieskau, Halfway Brook, etc., location of Ticonderoga showing Trout Brook, but without name. Id. for 1760, XXX, map to illustrate General Amherst's Expedition to Montreal showing the Hudson, Lake George, Ticonderoga, Lake Champlain, etc., to face p. 460.

Glens Falls Insurance Company's *Calendar* for 1904, picture *Embarkation of Abercrombie's Expedition.* Id. 1910, *Black Watch at Ticonderoga,* both with historical sketch. Latter shows, on reverse side, Duncan Campbell's grave stone.

Walford Davis Green, M. P., *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham,* (New York, 1901). Map of French Forts in America 1750-1760 from Montcalm & Wolfe showing Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Lake Champlain and Lake George to face p. 116. Picture of William Pitt to face p. 94; picture of Montcalm to face p. 114; picture of Earl of Chatham to face p. 286; statue of Earl of Chatham to face title page.

Harper's *Monthly Magazine,* cuts of Fort Ticonderoga and vicinity, VII, pp. 168-170; LI, pp. 369-370, LIX, p. 335.

A. B. Hart, *The American Nation,* (New York, 1905), VII, picture of William Pitt to face title page. Map Lakes George and Champlain, p. 204.

J. T. Headley, *Washington and His Generals,* (New York, 1847), I, picture of Putnam to face p. 92; picture of Stark to face p. 200; picture of Schuyler to face p. 229.

William Kingsford, *History of Canada,* (London, 1890), IV, map of region to face p. 183.

Lake George maps rare, loaned by S. R. Stoddard. Map of Lake George, Miller's Lith., 142 Broadway, (N. Y., n. d.) Shows region, gives good description of Lake George and its historic spots, shows Dieskau's route, also the route taken by Abercrombie.

Topographical sketch of Lake George, by Aug. F. Dolson, (artotype, N. Y., 1855). Shows all the islands and points on the lake. Only four hotels, one new one and four old ones then on the lake, viz., Lake House, new Fort William, unnamed then, United States (Crosby's), Mohican House, Gale's and Garfield's. Unique. Shows Trout Brook and "Fort Ti."

Maps in Library of Congress.—a. Project for the attack on Ticonderoga proposed to be put in execution as near as the circumstances and ground will admit of. May 29th, 1759. W. B. delt. ms. col. 15x12 (Faden Coll., no. 24). b. Ticonderoga as it was in 1759. Ms. tracing, anon. 5x6 n. d. c. View of the lines and fort of Ticonderoga taken from a hill on the side of South Bay in 1759. ms. anon. 8x12 1-2, 1759. d. Rocque's "Set of Plans and Forts in America" gives only the plans and no maps of the surrounding country.

B. J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution,* (New York, 1851), I, cut of the battlefield, p. 116. Cut of the Fort, p. 116.

Thomas Mante, *History of the Late War in North America,* (London, 1772). Map showing the Attack of Ticonderoga (which is the one usually seen and which has been reproduced so many times) to face p. 144.

Military Journals of Two Private Soldiers, 1758-1775, (Poughkeepsie, 1855). Cut of *Ruins of "Fort Ti."* to face title page.

Joel Munsell, *Annals of Albany,* VIII, *Map of Albany,* 1764, showing St. Peter's Church to face title page. Id. I, ***John Bogert's*** *Survey of State Street,* 1792, showing the church opposite what is now Chapel Street, in the center of State, p. 311.

New England Magazine, (July, 1899), *Lake Champlain Historical and Picturesque*—cuts and description of Ticonderoga, pp. 585-587. Id. (April, 1901), Perry's *Ticonderoga* with photographs of all principal points, pp. 120-127.

N. Y. Col. Doc. X, Attack of Abercrombie, map to face p. 726.

Id. Map—*Sketch from Original in the Archives at Paris,* Vol. 3498, p. 144. Frontiers Du Lac St. Sacrement, 1758. 8 Julliet—shows the country from Fort Ticonderoga toward Lake George and Albany. Trout Brook laid down as the R. Bernetz, to face p. 721.

N. Y. S. Ed. Dept. (Division of Visual Instruction) *American History to* 1763, Slides and Photographs, Pamph., pp. 122-126.

Maps in New York State Library.—a. Attack on Ticonderoga. In Mante, Thomas, History of the late war in North America, (London, 1772). b. Plan of the country from the Landing Place with the encampments and marches of the troops under Maj. Gen. Abercrombie at the attack of Ticonderoga. T. Phinn. sc. In Scot's Magazine, (1758). c. Country between Crown Point and Albany being the great Pass from the English to the French settlements in North America. T. Phinn. sc. In Scots Magazine, XX (1758). d. Survey of Lake Champlain including Lake George, Crown Point, &c., surveyed by order of Maj. Gen. Amherst by William Brassier, (1762). In American Military Pocket atlas. Printed for Sayer & Bennet, London. e. Id. in Jeffreys, Thomas, American Atlas, London, 1776. f. Frontiers du lac St. Sacrement, 1758, accompanying the Memoir on Fort Carillon by M. de Pont le Roy. *In Documents* Relating to the Colonial History of New York, X, p. 720. g. Plan of Lake George and the country adjacent, (1758). In New York State Library, Maps IV, p. 20. (Mentioned in A. W. Holden's History of Queensbury, p. 302). h. Plan of the town and fort of Carillon at Ticonderoga with the attack made by the British army—1758, Thomas Jeffreys. In New York State Library, Maps X, p. 18. i. Map of Lake Champlain, Lake George, Fort Frederic, &c., from the French Manuscripts, (1760?). In New York State Library Maps IV, p. 88.

Peter S. Palmer, *History of Lake Champlain,* (Albany, 1866), Plan of Fort Carillon, p. 85. Plan of Abercrombie's Attack, p. 78.

Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (Frontenac ed., Boston, 1899), II, map of Sketch of the country round Tyconderoga, by E. E. Meyer of ye 60th Regt, to face p. 301.

Anon.—*Putnam's Monthly* (August, 1857), wood cuts of Ticonderoga and surroundings, pp. 157-161.

Frederick Remington, *Harper's Monthly,* (November, 1897), picture *Storming of Ticonderoga,* p. 885.

Report of State Historian for 1896, II, *"Plan of Town and Fort of Carillon,* July 8, 1758, to face p. 370. Map *Hudson River to Canada,* to face page 437; *Fort Ticonderoga Looking Southeast,* to face p. 588; *Ruins Fort Ticonderoga,* to face p. 660.

H. B. Smith, *History of Essex County,* (Syracuse, 1885), cut of John Trumbull's plan of Ticonderoga, p. 86.

Id. *History of Warren County,* (Syracuse, 1885), map of outlet from Butler's Lake George and Lake Champlain, p. 103.

Zadock Thompson, *Civil History of Vermont,* Part II, map of region to face title page. Also see his *Guide to Lake George, Lake Champlain,* &c., (1845).

Winslow C. Watson, *Military and Civil History of the County of Essex,* (Albany, 1869), map of Ticonderoga and its forts, Lake George and Lake Champlain to face title page.

Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History* (1887), V, maps pp. 524-526.

J. Wright, *Complete History of Late War or Annual Register,* (4th ed., Dublin, 1766). Map to face p. 124 showing march of troops.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

A list of references examined for the writer by the Reference Department of the State Library, the State Historian, or others, treating of the campaign.

Army Lists for 1757, 1758.

Chalmer's *History Revolt of American Colonies,* (Boston, 1845), II.

Chatham Correspondence, I, p. 335.

C. F. Gordon-Cumming in *Atlantic Monthly,* (Sept., 1884).

John Dobson's *Chronological Annals of the War,* (Oxford, 1773).

Dilworth's *History of the Present War,* (London, 1760).

W. C. Ford, *British Officers Serving in America,* 1754-1774.

Grenville Correspondence, I, p. 261, etc.

List of Officers and Soldiers Killed and Wounded in Attack on Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, from papers Richard Peters, Secy. of the Governor of Penn. in Mass. Hist. Soc. Library.

MacLachlan's *Highlands,* (1875), II, p. 340.

Mortimer's *History of England,* III, p. 605.

New England Hist. and Gen. Register, 1862., Id. (1883), p. 21. Description of "Fort Ti."

Newcastle's *English Weekly Chronicle* sup., (Jan. 2, 1892), quoted in *Dictionary National Biography,* III, sup.

Review of Pitt's Administration, (London, 1763), (2nd Ed.)

Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders,* II, p. 61.

Universal History, XI, pp. 219-220.

United Service Magazine (London, 1817), I, p. 128.

APPENDIX VII.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

These scattering notes, while not exactly pertinent to the article, have seemed, nevertheless to be of enough cognate importance to warrant their insertion here.

Quartermaster General John Bradstreet was born about 1711, in Lincolnshire, England. Received his first commission in 1735 and had an important part in the Siege of Louisburgh in 1745. Served with Braddock in 1755, and in 1756 provisioned and relieved an English garrison at Oswego, and in 1758 was made deputy quartermaster general with Abercrombie's army.

Through his exertions, and those of Phillip Schuyler, whom he had induced to act as his assistant, the transportation of the supplies and equipment of this great army, and its embarkation and journey to the foot of the lake, were accomplished without con-

fusion, delay or accident. It was also due to Bradstreet's ability and resolution, as well as good management, that the retreat of the army back to the head, was managed in a way to avoid disaster and further loss. How he wrung from a council of war at the English fort (it being impossible to hold one at Ticonderoga, after the battle owing to the fearful mortality among the officers there), consent for a dash to Oswego, his forced march and great triumph over the enemy, are well known incidents of the campaign. His "force consisted of 135 regulars, 1112 provincials from New York, 412 from New Jersey, 675 from Massachusetts and 318 from Rhode Island; with 300 batteau men, in all 2952 men. (Mante, p. 152, quoted in Hough's Pouchot, I, p. 124). Bradstreet's capture of Frontenac, destruction of the French marine on Lake Ontario, the fortifications, merchandise, stores and munitions of war, and removal of artillery, &c., not only checked the enemy, but paved the way for the capture several months later of Fort Du Quesne by Gen. Forbes. (Pouchot, I, 224-225). Bradstreet was a great friend of the Schuylers, General Schuyler being made one of his executors, when he died in 1774. (*Godchild of Washington,* New York, 1897, pp. 28-35; *Dawson's Historical Magazine,* January, 1871, p. 48).

John Stanwix, Lieutenant General, who ordered Lord Howe's body buried in Albany, was born about 1690 in England, and died at sea in the fall of 1766. His uncle was a distinguished soldier and the nephew followed in his footsteps. He gained his captaincy in 1739 and was promoted rapidly until in January, 1756, he was made colonel commandant of the first battalion Royal Americans. He was commissioned brigadier general in December, 1757. General Stanwix came to Albany in 1758 and later was ordered to the Oneida Carrying Place, where a fortification was built, afterwards called Fort Stanwix in his honor. We find a letter from General Abercrombie to General Stanwix at the time stating that he hears Stanwix has been obliged to encamp at Schenectady "owing to the shallowness of the Muhawk river." In 1759 General Stanwix repaired and fortified the old Fort DuQuesne then renamed Fort Pittsburg. He returned to England in August, 1760, was given high military honors, held various important offices and was lost at sea with his wife and daughter while on his way to London to at-

tend parliament Oct. 29, 1766. (*Dictionary of Natl. Biography,* LIV, pp. 86-87).

Rufus Putnam began his military service in 1757, as a private soldier, in Captain Ebenezar Learned's company. In 1759 he was an orderly sergeant, and in 1760 an ensign. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was made lieutenant colonel chief engineer of the army, then colonel, and finally in 1783 was appointed brigadier general, after serving with distinction through the Revolutionary War. His Journal and Memoirs have been noted elsewhere in this article. General Putnam is also known as the "Father of Ohio," having been one of the first settlers of that territory. (*Harper's Monthly,* LXXI, p. 552. *Ohio Arch. & Hist. Soc. Quarterly* (October, 1910) XIX, pp. 398-401).

Nathaniel Woodhull, b. 1722, d. 1776, served with Abercrombie at Ticonderoga, and accompanied Bradstreet to Frontenac. President of Provincial Congress in 1775, and again in 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was accepted. Was commissioned a brigadier general and received a mortal wound in a skirmish at Jamaica, L. I., 1776. (Subject of sketch and picture on *Calendar Title Guarantee and Trust Co.,* of New York, for 1911. *N. Y. Col. Doc.,* VIII, p. 295-296.)

A portrait of Artemas Ward, afterward a major general of the Revolutionary War, who was with General Abercrombie in 1758, appears in the *Journal of American History* (N. Y., 1910), IV, p. 560. General Ward was the first commander-in-chief of the patriot army preceding General Washington. (Sketch id. pp. 562-567).

Marinus Willet, afterwards colonel, was at the battle and went with Bradstreet to Frontenac. (Reid's *Old Fort Johnson,* p. 127).

The Battle of Bunker Hill found opposed to each other on the side of the Colonials, Putnam, Stark, and Pomeroy and many other men who had fought at Lake George or Ticonderoga, and on the side of the English, General Gage (at this time, 1758, colonel), and Lt. Col. James Abercrombie said to have been a son of General James Abercrombie, and who served as an aide to Amherst in 1759. (Harper's *Encyc. U. S. Hist.,* Vol. I, vide "Abercromby.") In the following year he gained his majority

in the 78th or second Highland Battalion, and was the bearer of the surrender conditions to Gov. de Vaudreuil and secured his signature to the document, (*N. Y. Col. Doc.* VII, p. 160). In 1770, after being out of the army for a time, he entered active service again, as lieutenant colonel of the 22nd Regt., then serving in America, under Lieut. Gen. Gage, and received mortal wounds at the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17th, 1775. As he was being taken from the field he begged his men not to kill his old friend Putnam. (Drake's *Old Landmarks and Historic Fields of Middlesex,* p. 73).

"In 1758 the Expedition under Abercrombie and Lord Howe was undertaken against that place [Ticonderoga], ending in the defeat of the English and the Death of Lord Howe an event consecrated in the Colonial Annals. It was on this occasion that ["Goose"] Van Scaick being close to Lord Howe when he fell, was himself wounded in the Face by the butt end of a Musket clubbed by a French Soldier, a wound which led to a cancerous disease, of which after a long career of honourable service, he died." As Col. Van Scaick he served prominently through the Revolutionary War. Especially in 1777. (*Orderly Book at Ticonderoga,* Albany, 1859, Munsell's, p. 68—Note Gosen Van Scaick.)

At a conference had by General Howe with Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and Edward Rutledge on Staten Island, W. L. Stone says: "After this Lord Howe opened the conference. He expressed his attachment to America and his gratitude for the honors bestowed upon his elder brother, who, was killed at Lake George in the expedition against the French, eighteen years before, declaring that should America fall he should feel and lament it like the loss of a brother. Franklin bowed, and, smiling blandly, replied, "My lord, we will use our utmost endeavors to spare you that mortification," (*Revolutionary Letters,* William L. Stone, 1891, Munsell's, pp 204-205. See also Wharton's *Dip. Cor. of the Am. Rev.,* II, p. 141.)

The following extracts are taken from the Pennsylvania Archives:

July 14th Wm. Till of Newcastle writes to Richard Peters in Phila. "Yours, giving an account that matters are not very favourable with our army before Ticonderoga, gives me great concern," p. 475. July 15th Arch. Kennedy, of New York, writes to

Andrew Elliot, merchant, Phila. "You have heard or will soon hear of our defeat before Carillon with the loss of at least a thousand men and many officers, in which our friend the major, I am afraid, is included, p. 477. July 17th, Kennedy to Gov. Denny. "The army has met with a severe repulse with the loss of about 1000 men and many of our best officers. They are again encamped at the south end of the lake still in good spirits, and we are in hopes of a second attempt with better success, p. 479. July 20th James Young writes to R. Peters. "We are all here [Carlisle] strangely alarmed with the imperfect accounts of our army to the northward, not knowing if the accts we have be only the consequence of the first attact when Lord Howe was killed, or if a second battle. If the genl. has particulars, we are apprehensive they are very bad as nothing transpires; the officers seems a good deal cast down, but endeavor to keep all from the men." Various letters speak of the secrecy on part of the officers so the men would not get discouraged. Also of the difficulty in getting the recruits in shape, pp. 483-486, 488-489. James Young to R. Peters, July 23rd, hope "the Virginians will not succeed in getting the rout by Fort Cumberland," p. 489. (From *Penn. Arch.*, III.)

Capt. Ichabod Goodwin, of Colonel Jedediah Preble's Regiment of Provincials, was wounded and had special mention by Abercrombie. (*Historical Magazine*, October, 1868, p. 164. *N. Y. Col. Doc.* X, p. 731. *Report* Maine Society of Colonial Wars, Portland, 1905, pp. 130-131).

The Rev. Ebenezar Cleaveland was chaplain of Colonel Jedediah Preble's regiment, but it is his brother John who was chaplain of the Third Regiment and who wrote the Diary mentioned herein.

It is stated that the encampment of Abercrombie's forces at Albany, which brought there thousands of the provincial forces, caused the writing of one of our national airs. The provincials from their gawkiness, general unkempt appearance, lack of uniforms and military clothing, strange accoutrements and want of discipline were a source of infinite amusement to the trig regulars. A Doctor Shuckburgh is said to have composed the words of Yankee Doodle fitting it to an old English tune. How the English played it in derision of the continentals, and how the latter returned the

compliment during the Revolutionary War are well known incidents. Dr. Shuckburgh was surgeon in Capt. Horatio Gates' Independent Company of New York. (Joel Munsell, *Annals of Albany,* 1850, II, p. 228. E. B. O. C. in Dawson's *Historical Magazine,* (Oct., 1857), p. 314.) [For later authority on this subject see report of Oscar G. T. Sonneck, Chief Division of Music, Library of Congress, Government Printing Office, 1909. Noted in *Am. Hist. Review,* April, 1910, pp. 625-626.]

Another authority, however says:

Colonel Thomas Fitch who commanded four New England regiments in this war, was the son of General Thomas Fitch, Governor of Connecticut. It is said "it was in derision of Colonel Fitch's forces the now famous Yankee Doodle was composed and sung." Those regiments performed their full share in the attack on Fort Ticonderoga, and suffered a greater loss, in proportion to their numbers, than the British Army." (Dawson's *Historical Magazine,* 1871, p. 215).

In 1758, a post (rider on horseback) was established between Albany and Boston. (*Mrs. Bonney's Legacy of Historical Gleanings,* I, p. 21). The day after the battle "on the next day, those most dangerously wounded were sent forward in boats and reached the Flats before evening" (id. p. 22).

APPENDIX VIII.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

For books, mss., information, assistance or other valuable aid in the preparation of this paper, the writer desires to extend his grateful thanks and acknowledgements to S. H. P. Pell and Hon. Howland Pell, of Ticonderoga and New York; the New York State Library at Albany, and especially to Miss Charlotte VanPeyma and the Reference Department therein; to the Librarian of Congress at Washington and the Chiefs of the Divisions of Maps and Charts and Bibliography of the Congressional Library; to Williams College Library, Williamstown, Mass.; Crandall Free Library, Glens

Falls; Victor H. Paltsits, State Historian and his assistant, Richard H. Day; State Archivist A. J. F. vanLaer and his assistant, Peter Nelson; Dr. Sherman Williams, Glens Falls; Dr. Samuel A. Green and James H. Tuttle, Mass. Hist. Society, Boston, Mass.; Rev. Joseph Hooper, Durham, Conn.; Lord Arthur Browne, London, Eng.; Hon. Vice Admiral Sir Assheton G. Curzon-Howe, Portsmouth, Eng.; Miss Ethel M. Lomas, Miss Lena Diver, Mrs. Sophia C. Lomas, expert copyists, London, Eng.; Rev. W. W. Battershall, Albany; Albert C. Bates, Librarian Connecticut Hist. Society, Hartford, Conn.; C. J. Brigham, Lib. Am. Antiquarian Society, Worcster, Mass.; H. L. Bridgman, Brooklyn Standard Union; R. J. Brown, Bolton; Dr. W. A. E. Cummings, Ticonderoga; Dr. John M. Clark, Director Science Division, Albany; George Francis Dow, Sec. Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.; Geo. H. Evans, Librarian Woburn Public Library, Woburn, Mass.; A. A. Heard, Gen. Pass. Agt. D. & H., Albany; Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Hudson Falls; M. E. Johnson, N. J. Hist. Society, Newark, N. J.; Adjutant General's Office, State of New Jersey; Robert H. Kelby, N. Y. Hist. Soc.; Hon. W. M. Olin, Sec. Commonwealth of Mass., Boston; Mrs. H. L. P. Rice, Albany; Col. W. S. Schuyler, U. S. A.; Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls; S. R. Stoddard, Glens Falls; C. A. West, Lake George, and to anyone else whose name may have been inadvertently omitted, who has aided the writer in any way to look at this mooted question from a new view point.

THE BLACK WATCH AT TICONDEROGA, JULY 8, 1758

THE BLACK WATCH AT TICONDEROGA.

By Frederick B. Richards, A. B., Glens Falls, N. Y.

A residence of ten years in Ticonderoga inspired me with an appreciation of the history of that most historic spot in America, and when as secretary of the Ticonderoga Historical Society I was largely instrumental in securing the erection of the Black Watch Memorial in that village, I became particularly interested in the record of that famous Highland Regiment which this building commemorates.

It has for several years been my wish to write so complete an account of the Black Watch at Ticonderoga that one would need look in no other place for any detail in the history of that regiment from the time it left Scotland in1756 until after the capture of Ticonderoga by Amherst in 1759. As a meeting of the New York State Historical Association on Lake Champlain seemed an appropriate time to present such a paper and the printed histories of that period give only meagre accounts on this subject, Mrs. Richards and I made this an excuse for a trip to the British Isles and a large part of August and September was spent on a Black Watch pilgrimage. We had a very enjoyable trip and gained many interesting facts but I am sorry to say that the story is still far from complete.

The reason for the lack of more detailed information about the Regiment in the Ticonderoga period is found in the following which is copied from the preface of Stewart of Garth's first edition:

"The origin of these Sketches and Military Details was simply this: When the Forty-second regiment was removed from Dublin to Donaghadee in the year 1771, the baggage was sent round by sea. The vessel having it on board was unfortunately driven on shore by a gale of wind, and wrecked; the greater part of the cargo and baggage was lost, and the portion saved, especially the regi-

mental books and records, was much injured. A misfortune somewhat similar occurred, when the army, under the Earl of Moira, landed at Ostend in June 1794. The transports were ordered round to Helvoetsluys, with orders to wait the further movements of the troops. But the vessels had not been long there, when the enemy invaded Holland in great force, and, entering Helvoetsluys, seized on the transports in the harbour. Among the number of vessels taken were those which had conveyed the Forty-second to Flanders, having on board every article of regimental baggage, except the knapsacks with which the officers and soldiers had landed at Ostend in light marching order. Along with the baggage, a well-selected library, and, what was more to be regretted, all that remained of the historical records of the regiment, from the period of its formation till the year 1793, fell into the hands of the enemy.

"After the conclusion of the late war, his Royal Highness, the Commander-in-Chief, directed that the Forty-second should draw up a record of its services, and enter it in the regimental books, for the information of those who should afterwards belong to the corps. As none of the officers who had served previously to the loss of the records in 1794 were then in the regiment, some difficulty arose in drawing up the required statement of service; indeed, to do so correctly was found impossible, as, for a period of fifty-four years previous to 1793, the materials were very defective. In this situation, the commanding officer, in the year 1817, requested me to supply him with a few notices on the subject."

It seemed to have been the custom in the British army of that period for a Regiment to carry its entire belongings with it from place to place and the unfortunate practice has swept from existence every trace of the Regimental records of the Black Watch of Ticonderoga.

It may be readily seen that if Colonel Stewart who had all the information in 1817 which the British government was able to supply and who was also fortunate in having had an intimate acquaintance during his service in the Regiment with officers who have served almost from its formation, was unable to write a complete record, the task nearly one hundred years later might be considered well nigh hopeless. There was the hope, however, that some record which was then lost might have been discovered since Colonel

Stewart's time or that interesting matter might be found in the archives of the families who had sons in the Black Watch of 1758. It is a fact that only recently the regimental records of the Black Watch of two decades later were found in an old second-hand book store in Portsmouth and it is still possible that the regimental records of 1758-9, which are now lost, may yet come to light.

We find that nearly all the histories of the Highland Regiments follow Stewart of Garth nearly word for word in their accounts of the early history of the Black Watch. A notable exception, however, is "A Military History of Perthshire," which has much that is new. There are also many interesting letters and other records in "The Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families," relating to the service of those of the Black Watch who came from the Atholl Family or estate, and at London we found some dispatches in the Public Record Office in the War Department which I have not seen published. The chief merit, however, if any, which I can claim for this address is that while it does not add much that is new, it does, I think, collect in one article nearly all that is known about the Black Watch of the Ticonderoga period.

I might say here, also, that whatever was lacking in information was more than made up by the cordiality of our reception, as we found nearly every Scotchman interested in the oldest Highland Regiment of the British Army and glad to help us in any way possible. We are under special obligation, which I here wish to acknowledge, to Lt. Col. Hugh Rose, the present commander of the First Battalion of the Black Watch; Major D. L. Wilson Farquharson, D. S. O., who represented the Regiment at the unveiling of the memorial tablet at Ticonderoga, July 4, 1906, now retired and living at Allargue in Aberdeenshire, the home of the Farquharson's for many generations; W. Skeoch Cumming of Edinburgh, artist and authority on Scotch costumes and tartans of the 18th century; Mrs. Campbell of Dunstaffnage, present owner of old Inverawe House; the Marchioness of Tullibardine, editor of "A Military History of Perthshire," and the Duke of Atholl, present head of the Clan Murray, Honorary Colonel of the Third Battalion of the Black Watch and compiler of the "Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families."

Before proceeding to the Black Watch of Ticonderoga, it would perhaps be well to give a brief history of the Regiment. There is

considerable difference of opinion as to just when the independent companies which were afterwards to become the present regiment of the line were raised. The earliest record I have seen is that on the 3rd of August, 1667, King Charles II issued a commission under the Great Seal to John, second Earl of Atholl "to raise and keep such a number of men as he should think fit to be a constant guard for securing the peace in the Highlands" and "to watch upon the braes."[1]

From this time until 1739 the Black Watch was in various stages of formation.[2]

It was at the period of the independent companies that the name Black Watch was given—Black from the sombre tartan in contrast to the regular soldiers who at that time had coats, waistcoats and breeches of scarlet cloth, and Watch because their duties were to watch or keep order in the Highlands. The character of the rank and file of the Black Watch of this period was exceedingly high, many gentlemen with servants serving as privates, and in addition to the enlistment being from the best families it was also possible to select only "men of full height, well proportioned and of handsome appearance." There were several reasons for this, the principal one being probably the fact that at that period the carrying of arms was prohibited by penalties and it became an "object of ambition with all the young men of spirit to be admitted even as privates into a service which gave them the privilege of wearing arms." Our interest in the Black Watch, however, is principally in the Regiment of the line as such and this dates from the commission given by George II, October 25, 1739, as follows:

"GEORGE R.—Whereas we have thought fit, that a regiment of foot be forthwith formed under your command, and to consist of ten companies, each to contain one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three serjeants, three corporals, two drummers, and one hundred effective private men; which said regiment shall be partly formed out of six Independent Companies of Foot in the Highlands of North Britain, three of which are now commanded by captains, and three by captain-lieutenants. Our will and pleasure therefore is, that one serjeant, one corporal, and fifty private men, be forthwith taken out of the three companies commanded by captains, and ten private men from the three commanded by captain-

1 A Military History of Perthshire, Page 28.

2 The most complete account of the independent companies may be found in "A Military History of Perthshire."

COPY OF AN OLD ENGRAVING SHOWING THE METHOD OF WEARING THE BELTED PLAID

lieutenants, making one hundred and eighty men, who are to be equally distributed into the four companies hereby to be raised; and the three serjeants and three corporals, draughted as aforesaid, to be placed to such of the four companies as you shall judge proper; and the remainder of the non-commissioned officers and private men, wanting to complete them to the above number, to be raised in the Highlands with all possible speed; the men to be natives of that country, and none other to be taken.

This regiment shall commence and take place according to the establishment thereof. And of these our orders and commands, you, and the said three captains, and the three captain-lieutenants commanding at present the six Independent Highland Companies, and all others concerned, are to take notice, and to yield obedience thereunto accordingly.

Given at our Court at St. James's, this 25th day of October, 1739, and in the 13th year of our reign.

By His Majesty's Command,
(Signed): Wm. Yonge.

To our Right Trusty and Right Well-
Beloved Cousin, John Earl of
Craufurd and Lindsay.

May, 1740, these ten companies were mustered in a field between Taybridge and Aberfeldy and became the 43d Foot of the British Army.[1] This number was changed to the 42d in 1749. There have been several changes of the official name of the Regiment but the "Black Watch" was always the familiar one in the country where it has drawn its recruits and since 1881 has been the official name in the British Army List.[2]

The uniform of this period was a "scarlet jacket and waistcoat, with buff facings and white lace, tartan plaid of twelve yards plaited round the middle of the body, the upper part being fixed on the left shoulder, ready to be thrown loose and wrapped over both shoulders and firelock in rainy weather. At night, the plaid served the purpose of a blanket, and was a sufficient covering for the Highlanders. These were called belted plaids, from being kept tight to the body by a belt, and were worn on guards, reviews, and on all occasions when the men were in full dress. On this belt hung the pistols and dirk when worn. In the barracks, and when not on duty, the little kilt or philibeg was worn, a blue bonnet with

1 See Appendix for list of officers.
2 See Appendix for the regimental names of the Black Watch at different periods.

a border of white, red, and green, arranged in small squares to resemble, as is said, the fess cheque in the arms of the different branches of the Stewart family, and a tuft of feathers, or sometimes, from economy or necessity, a small piece of black bearskin. The arms were a musket, a bayonet, and a large basket-hilted broadsword. These were furnished by Government; such of the men as chose to supply themselves with pistols and dirks were allowed to carry them, and targets after the fashion of the country. The sword-belt was of black leather, and the cartouch-box was carried in front, supported by a narrow belt round the middle."[1]

"While the companies acted independently, each commander assumed the tartan of his own Clan. When embodied, no clan having a superior claim to offer an uniform plaid to the whole, and Lord Crawford, the colonel, being a Lowlander, a new pattern was assumed, and which has ever since been known as the 42d, or Black Watch tartan, being distinct from all others. Lord John Murray gave the Athole tartan for the philibeg. The difference was only a stripe of scarlet, to distinguish it from that of the belted plaid. The pipers wore a red tartan of very bright colours, (of the pattern known by the name of the Stewart or Royal Tartan), so that they could be more clearly seen at a distance. When a band of music was added, plaids of the pipers' pattern were given to them."[2]

Having given briefly the origin of the Regiment, we will pass to the period which is the subject of our article.

May, 1756, war having been formally declared between France and England, a body of troops, the Highlanders forming a part, were embarked under the command of Lieut. General James Abercrombie and landed at New York, June, 1756. These were soon followed by more troops under the Earl of Loudon who was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army of America.

The official name of the Regiment at this time was the 42d Regiment of Foot, but they are often spoken of in dispatches simply as the Highlanders, because they were the only Highland Regiment then in this section, or as Lord John Murray's Highlanders from the custom of the times of calling a Regiment by the

1 Stewart of Garth, Page 246, Vol. I.
2 Stewart of Garth, Page 247, Vol. I.

name of its Honorary Colonel. The commander of the Black Watch at this time was Lieut. Col. Francis Grant, son of the Laird of Grant, who had served in the Regiment from the time he had received his commission as Ensign, October 25, 1739. He was made Lieutenant Colonel December 17, 1755 and was in command of the Regiment all through the American campaign. The only other officer who had served continuously from the formation of the Regiment in 1739 was Gordon Graham of Drainie, who in 1756 was senior captain.

The record of the Regiment from the landing in June, 1756, until the battle of July, 1758, is exceedingly meagre. In fact nothing of importance was done by the whole army. As one author puts it "Loudon was so engrossed in schemes for improving the condition of his men that he seemed to have no time for employing them against the enemy." The following extract from a letter from the Earl of Loudon to William Pitt dated New York, March 10th, 1757, will illustrate the method of quartering troops of that period.

"In the end of your letter you have acquainted me, that words shall be inserted, in the mutiny act to take away every doubt about the Right of Quartering extending to America.

When I writ on that subject, I was but just arrived, and the troops were mostly encamped. Since that I have had disputes to settle, all over this Continent, in settling the winter quarters for the Troops from whence I find, that the manner of quartering in England, as in time of peace, on Publick Houses only, will in no shape answer the intent in this country, for here there are few Publick Houses and most of them sell nothing but spirits, where they possess only one room in which they sell the liquor, where men cannot be quartered.

Whilst the war lasts, necessity will justify exceeding that rule, as Troops must be under cover, in the places where it is necessary to post them, for the security of the country and carrying on the service, but as soon as a peace comes, it will, by the English rule, be impossible to quarter any number of Troops, in this country, without a new regulation, and the only remedy that occurs to me at present, is adopting the method of quartering in Scotland, where for the same reason of there not being Publick Houses sufficient

for the reception of Troops they are by law quartered on private houses.

I must beg leave to give you one instance of the situation of quarters here. When I arrived at Albany, I do not believe it was possible to have quartered Fifty men on that town, on all the Publick Houses in it, and taking a full survey of it, I found that by quartering on the Private Houses, I can, without incommoding them, in the parts of their houses, in which they live, quarter Fourteen Hundred men, and for a short time, in case of necessity, I could quarter Two thousand. I have mentioned this to show you what the situation of all the Frontier Places, in this country, that are liable to attacks, must be, if quartering is likely to be kept to, on Publick Houses only.

On the 10th instant arrived the Harriet Packet which brought me the duplicates of your letters of the 9th and 11th of January, and the next day came in here His Majesty's ship the Hampshire commanded by Captain Norbury, having under his convoy the nine additional companies of the Highlanders,* who had a passage of twelve weeks from Cork, and met with very bad weather; of this convoy there were missing on his arrival in this Port, the Arundal and Salisbury Transports. The last we have, since, accounts of her getting into Rhode Island.

The Troops being sickly, I have cantooned them in villages adjacent to this Port, for the sake of fresh provisions and vegetables."

In the published histories of the time it is stated that the "42d remained inactive in or near Albany during 1756 and that throughout the winter and spring of the following year the men were drilled and disciplined for bush fighting and markmanship, a species of warfare for which they were well fitted, being for the most part good shots and experts in the management of arms."

From the following letters found in the Public Record Office in London the quarters for the winter of 1756-7 were probably at Schenectady. Extract from letter from Loudon to Pitt, New York, 25th April, 1757, "The Highlanders were set in motion from Schenectady * * * they marched without tents and lay in the woods upon the snow making great fires and I do not find the troops have

*3 additional Companies Black Watch and 3 for Montgomery's and 3 for Fraser's, stationed at Halifax.

suffered * * * We have on that River (Mohawk) at Schenectady and up to the German Flats, the Highland Regiment upwards of a thousand men," etc.

The second letter reads as follows, and while it is chiefly of interest in this connection because it is dated from Schenectady, it also illustrates the custom of selling commissions:

Schenectady, April 24, 1757.

Francis Grant, Lt. Col. 42d Regiment. Sir:—

I am convinced from several things that have happened me since I have been in the Regiment that my continuing to serve any longer in it would be disagreeable to the whole corps of officers and being likewise sensible of my own unfitness for a military life I have resolved to quit the Army as soon as I can obtain leave to resign my commission. But as I have nothing else in the world to depend upon and finding myself at present at a distance from my family and friends or anyone whom I can depend on for advice, interest or assistance and having frequently experienced your goodness and favor, I have made bold to apply to you that you would be pleased to intercede with his Excellency the Earl of Loudon, in my behalf that His Lordship in consideration of my distressed situation and circumstances might be moved to give me leave to resign in favor of some person that would be willing to allow me wherewithall to support me till I can settle and apply to some other way of life.

In doing me this favor you'll forever oblige, Sir,

Your respectful and gratefully obed't hum. serv't,

George Maclagan, Ens.

P. S.—If it is agreeable to your Lordship I am willing to pay fifty pound Sterling for Mr. Peter Grant, Voluntier.

Francis Grant, Lt. Col. 42d Regt."

With these two dispatches from the British War Office as a clew I have tried to learn more about the winter quarters of the Black Watch and have looked through the Colonial manuscript in the New York State Library, *the Records of the City of Albany and the published works of the period but so far without success. I have been unable to find any Schenectady records of this period. It seems that a valuable collection of Glen-Sanders papers from the old Mansion across the Mohawk from Schenectady was recently sold and I have been told that in these there were several refer-

* The only reference to the Black Watch that I could find in the unpublished Colonial Manuscripts in the N. Y. State Library was the report of the receipt at New York, 8th July, 1757, from the ship Free Mason,, of 22 Bales, 10 Casks and 1 Box for Lord John Murray's Regiment. Colonial Mss., 1757, Vol. 84, Page 126.

ences to officers of the Black Watch. As the Glens[1] were Scotch it would be quite likely that if this collection were not now scattered to the four winds much information about the Highlanders could be obtained. It is said that Schenectady was only a frontier village in 1756 and not large enough to take care of a regiment and it seems to be a fact from the reference given above that only a part of the thousand men were stationed here as it states that the Regiment was stretched along the Mohawk from Schenectady to the German Flats, but that it was a station for troops is proven by the list in the Public Record Office of the winter quarters for the troops in America for 1758, which states that the Black Watch was quartered in New York and Lt. General Murray's at Schenectady. There is in the Public Record Office no list of winter quarters of the troops in America previous to 1758.*

*After this article had gone to press I received through the kindness of Arthur Doughty Litt, D. Archivist of the Dominion of Canada, a copy of the references to the Black Watch in the archives at Ottawa and one reference proves that the 42nd was stationed at Schenectady the winter of 1756-7, as follows: Nov. 22, 1756, Loudon to Fox, the 42nd Regiment I quartered at Schenectady, from whence they take the posts, on the Mohawk River, etc. See Appendix.

It appears, however, from the Town Records of Stamford, Conn., that a committee representing that town made a claim on the "General Court" of the Colony of Connecticut to reimburse them for £ 369-13-4½ which the town had expended "in taking care of the Highlanders from November 30, 1757, to March 30, 1758. The soldiers numbered 250 officers and men and they had also belonging to them 17 women and 9 children." These were undoubtedly part of the Black Watch as they alone were entitled to be called "The Highlanders." The only other Highland regiments of that time were Montgomery's and Fraser's, both raised in 1757 and landed at Halifax the same year but both quartered in Canada. This town record also further illustrates the custom of that time as previously stated and as an officer of the present Regiment aptly puts it, "they took not only their mess plate but their wives also, on service with them, and sometimes lost both."

1Col. John Glen, born July 2, 1735, died Sept. 23, 1828, was quartermaster during the French and Indian and also the Revolutionary wars and was a man of great prominence in this locality. His brother, Col. Henry Glen, born July 13, 1739, died January 6, 1814, was deputy quartermaster under his brother and was member of Congress from Albany District from 1794 and 1802. Schenectady at that time was in Albany District. It was Col. John Glen who gave the name to Glens Falls, changing it from Wing's Falls, it is said as the result of a wine supper.

This 250 at Stamford would only be a quarter of the Regiment, however, if Loudon had upwards of a thousand at or near Schenectady the winter before and it is probable that the rest were quartered at or near Schenectady as in 1756.

Another statement that I have tried to confirm is the account by James Grant in his "Legends of the Black Watch" of the 50 chosen men under orders of MacGillivray of Glen Arrow, who went to reinforce Col. Munro at Fort William Henry. It is also said in a foot note of Wilson's Orderly Book that Capt. Gordon Graham was at Fort William Henry at the time of the surrender, and this is repeated in N. Y. Colonial Mss. by O'Callaghan, page 728, Vol. 10, but I have not been able to find any other reference that would substantiate these statements.

The only time the 42d emerges from the haze of mystery from June, 1756, to the spring of 1758, is that they were a part of Loudon's expedition against Louisbourg in 1757, and this was more a summer vacation than an act of war.

If the English could have attacked Louisbourg in the spring or early summer, success would have been certain but Loudon couldn't seem to get started. As a messenger from the Governor of Pennsylvania, who had waited in vain for a reply to a message, said about him he was like "St. George on a tavern sign, always on horse back and never riding on." The expedition did not start from New York until June 20th and entered Halifax harbor the 30th. Even after this delay he was there before Admiral Holbourne, who did not arrive from England with his fleet of 15 ships-of-the-line and 3 frigates, with 5,000 troops until July 10th. Then there was more delay, the 12,000 troops were landed and weeks spent in drilling and planting vegetables for their refreshment. Sir. Charles Hay was put under arrest for saying that the "nation's money was spent in sham battles and raising cabbages." The troops were embarked again but Aug. 4th a sloop came from Newfoundland bringing news of the arrival of three French Squadrons at Louisbourg and as an attack after this reinforcement would be hopeless, the costly enterprise was abandoned and Loudon and the troops sailed back to New York where he arrived Aug. 31st. Delay was the ruin of the Louisbourg expedition and drew off British forces from the frontier where they were most needed.

The troops were started immediately up the Hudson as soon as they were landed at New York but Fort William Henry had already been captured Aug. 9th and the French forces had fallen back to Ticonderoga.

The spring of 1758 opened up with bright prospects. Lord Loudon had been recalled and General Abercrombie, with the able assistance of Lord Howe, was in command. Admiral Boscowen was appointed to command the fleet and Major-General Amherst and Brigadier-Generals Wolfe, Townsend and Murray were added to the military staff. Three expeditions were proposed for this year, Louisbourg, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and Fort Du-Quesne. The army in America had been largely reinforced during the winter and spring. Of these reinforcements the 42d was strengthened by three additional companies and recruits bringing the Regiment up to about 1,300 men.

As we have considerable information about these three companies through the Atholl Records, it will be interesting to turn back and follow them from the start to the beginning of the Ticonderoga campaign. The first item and one of interest because it shows the method of raising companies in those days, is a letter from the Duke of Argyll to the Duke of Atholl, dated London, July 9, 1757.*

"My Lord:—This is to acquaint your Grace that there is to be 3 additional Companies raised for Lord John Murray's Regiment. I believe the nomination of the officers will be left to me and consequently to Your Grace; there will be 3 captains, 6 lieutenants and 3 ensigns and 100 men each company. The raising the men will be the merit of those who shall desire to be officers and if any can be found who have served in Holland, so much the better. Your Grace will have your thought on this but don't promise anybody till you let me hear from you. I shall speak to Lord John but I will bid him consult you and will plainly tell him that the commissions must all be given gratis. The other two Highland Regiments will likewise have the same addition made to them.

I am with the greatest truth and respect, My Lord, Yr Gr|s most faithful and obt. h'ble Servant, Argyll.

By the Duke of Atholl's recommendation the three companies were given to James Stewart of Urrard; James Murray, nephew

*Atholl Records, page 428, Vol. III.

of the Duke of Atholl and son of Lord George Murray; and Thomas Stirling of Ardoch. Three of the new subalterns were from the Atholl estate, namely Lieut. Alexander Menzies and Ensigns Duncan Stewart, son of Derculich, and George Rattray, son of Dalralzion. The three companies were mustered in October and marched from Perth to Glasgow, where they remained until November 15, when they marched to Greenock and embarked December 1st in transports for Cork en route to America.

April 22, 1758, Capt. James Murray wrote from New York to Mr. Murray of Strowan announcing his safe arrival after a voyage of eleven weeks from Cork. The joys of a voyage in those times when it could take ten days to sail from Scotland to Ireland, is illustrated by a letter from Capt. Murray, dated Youghall, 11 Dec., 1757.*

My dear Brother:—This is to let you know that I am just now in good health and safely arrived here with my company. My transport, together with the other five, set sail on the 1st cur't in the evening along with the Convoy; we had a fair wind and good weather until Sunday, early in the morning (when we were past Waterfort in our way to Corck) about eight, there came on one of the most prodigeous storms that the sailors said they had never seen the like before. About two in the afternoon we lost sight of the Convoy and all the transports and have not yet any sure accounts whether they have got all safe into harbours or not. But since I came here I hear that there was five or six ships lost on the Coast that day. The storm abated somewhat Monday morning but it continued bad weather until Friday evening, during which time we were often in risk of our lives especially twice, once being within two yards of a great rock and the other time when we were on two fathom water going on a sandbank.

During all that time we were near several harbours, such as Doublin, Waterfort, Corck and others but all without success. Saturday and this day we had good weather by which means we got into harbour.

Your most aff'te brother,
James Murray.

From November until April seems a long voyage from Scotland to America even in those days of primitive navigation, but another of the three additional companies was blown into Antigua and did not arrive at New York until June.

*Atholl Records, p433 Vol. III.

With the activities of the preparations for the Ticonderoga campaign a number of dispatches were sent to the Home Government and it is possible to follow more closely the fortunes of the Black Watch.

The addition of these three companies raised the Regiment to 1,300 men, and we find among the official documents a petition from Capt. Gordon Graham, endorsed by Lt. Col. Grant and General Abercrombie, asking to be made Major in addition to Major Duncan Campbell, as follows:*

To His Excellency James Abercromby, Esq., General and Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in North America, etc., etc., etc.

The Memorial of Gordon Graham, eldest Captain in His Majesty's 42nd Regiment of Foot in North America.

Humbly sheweth

That your memorialist hath had the honour to serve His Majesty upwards of twenty-five years, twelve of which as Captain in the above Regiment and is now eldest in that Rank.

That he hath served in Flanders and elsewhere during all the last war, some part of which he was employed as Major of Brigade, and had a Commission as such from General St. Clair, on the expedition under his command in the year 1746.

May it therefore please your Excellency to lay his case before His Majesty that he in his great wisdom may be graciously pleased to promote him to the Rank of Major when an opportunity offers, all which is humbly submitted.

To His Excellency, James Abercromby, Esqr., General and Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America, etc., etc., etc.

The Memorial of Colonel Francis Grant, Commanding his Majesty's 42nd Regiment of Foot

Humbly sheweth

That his Majesty having thought proper to augment the said Regiment to 1,300 men by adding three additional companies to it, and such a body of men being too numerous to be exercised and disciplined by one Major only, your memoralist humbly conceives, that it would be for the good of his Majesty's service to have another Major added, as has been already done to the other two Highland Battalions commanded by the Colonels Montgomery and Fraser.

May it therefore please your Excellency to lay this matter before His Majesty that he in his great wisdom may be graciously

*Public Record Office W. O. 1.-1.

pleased to give such directions thereupon as shall be thought necessary, all which is humbly submitted.

Colo. Grant, commanding His Majesty's 42nd Regiment, and Mr. Gordon Graham, a Captain in the same, having each of them presented me with a memorial, the contents of which I know to be true, I herewith transmit them to your Lordship, to be laid before the King, and to know His Royal Pleasure therein.

Extract from a letter signed James Abercromby to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Barrington, dated New York, Apr. 28, 1758.

As will be seen later Capt. Graham became Major before hearing from the King.

The next dispatch which is of interest and which makes changes in the list of Commissioned Officers is as follows: Extract from letter signed by James Abercromby to the Right Honorable the Lord Viscount Barrington, dated Albany, May 27, 1758.[1]

"In the list of the Commissions which I had the honour to transmit to your Lordship, by my last letter, you will have observed two vacancies in the 42nd Regiment, occasioned by the removal of Sir James Cockburn into the 48th which could not be filled up at the time my letter went away, as the gentlemen, whom it was proposed should purchase those vacancies were then at Albany,[2] and their answer not arrived; since that the Lieutenantcy has been made out in the name of Mr. Patrick Balnevas, and bears date the 1st of April; and Mr. Elbert Hering succeeds to the Ensigncy, dated the 3rd of the same month."

Then we have the dispatch just before the battle from Abercrombie to Pitt, dated Camp at Lake George, June 29, 1758, saying:

"Arrived Fort Edward on the 9th, where Lord Howe was encamped with the 42nd, 44th, and 55th Regiments and 4 companies of Rangers. Remainder of Regulars were at posts below on Hudson River and were working up the stores, etc. On the 17th Lord Howe marched to the Brook half way between Fort Edward and the Lake with the 42nd, 44th, and 55th. (This Half-way Brook was judged a proper post for the first Deposit in a Portage of 15 miles.[3] After the carriages had made several trips Lord Howe advanced to the Lake with the 42nd, 44th and 55th."

1 Public record office W:O:I.-I.

2 His last letter had been written from New York, April 28th. If this were an earlier date it might indicate the winter quarters, but at this time the army was assembling at Albany for the season's campaign. It will be noted as illustration that the Highlanders quartered at Stamford left there March 30.

3 For further information in regard to Halfway Brook, which is just north of the city of Glens Falls, see the "Halfway Brook in History," by James A. Holden in Vol. VI. N. Y. State Hist. Assn. proceedings.

Attached to this letter is a report of troops at Lake George, June 29, 1758, and the roll of the 42nd was as follows:

"10 companies, 1 Lt. Colonel, 1 Major, 8 Captains, 18 Lieutenants, 7 Ensigns, 1 Chaplain, 1 Adjutant, 1 QuarterMaster, 1 Surgeon, 2 Mates, 40 Sergeants, 18 Drummers; Rank and File—981 fit for duty, 11 sick present, 6 in general hospital, 2 on command, 1,000 total. 1 drummer and 40 rank and file wanting to complete."

We find the solution of why there were only 1,000 of the Black Watch with the Ticonderoga expedition when its strength was known to be 1,300 at that time, in another extract of the Report of June 29th from Abercrombie to Pitt: "I have left two additional Companies of Lord John Murray's to garrison Fort Edward. The other additional company of the 42d which was blown into Antego (Antigua), I hear is arrived at New York, which I have ordered up to Albany."

This is confirmed in more detail in a letter from Sir Robert Menzies to Mr. Murray of Strowan, dated Rannock, 6th Sept., 1758, in which is an extract from a letter received by Menzies from "Jammie Stewart."*

"That, after the additional Companies arrived in Fort Edward, the best men were picked out to compleat the Regiment in place of the sick and old men that were put in their place. That, as Capt. Reid was left behind sick at Albany, Capt. Murray was appointed to his company and Reid to the additionals, as Capt. Abercrombie was to Capt. Murray's Company. That the additional companies, with Captains Sterling, Reid, and Abercrombie, etc., were left at Fort Edward, where they had nothing to do but to garrison the Fort and divert themselves."

Everything is now in readiness for the attack on Ticonderoga and an army of six thousand three hundred seventy-seven regulars and nine thousand thirty-four provincials (Abercrombie to Pitt July 12, 1758) embarked at Lake George early on the morning of July 5th. There were nine hundred batteaux, a hundred and thirty-five whale boats and a large number of heavy flatboats carrying the artillery and from front to rear the line was six miles long.

Parkman in his "Montcalm and Wolfe" paints the scene as follows: "The spectacle was superb; the brightness of the sum-

*Atholl Records page, 444 Vo. III.

mer day; the romantic beauty of the scenery; the sheen and sparkle of those crystal waters; the countless islets, tufted with pine, birch, and fir; the bordering mountains, with their green summits and sunny crags; the flash of oars and glitter of weapons; the banners, the varied uniforms, and the notes of bugle, trumpet, bagpipe, and drum, answered and prolonged by a hundred woodland echoes. 'I never beheld so delightful a prospect,' wrote a wounded officer at Albany a fortnight after.

"Rogers with the Rangers, and Gage with the light infantry, led the way in whaleboats, followed by Bradstreet with his corps of boatman, armed and drilled as soldiers. Then came the main body. The central column of regulars was commanded by Lord Howe, his own regiment, the fifty-fifth, in the van, followed by the Royal Americans, the twenty-seventh, forty-fourth, forty-sixth, and eightieth infantry, and the Highlanders of the forty-second, with their major, Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, silent and gloomy amid the general cheer, for his soul was dark with foreshadowings of death. With this central column came what are described as two floating castles, which were no doubt batteries to cover the landing of the troops. On the right hand and the left were the provincials, uniformed in blue, regiment after regiment, from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. Behind them all came the batteaux, loaded with stores and baggage, and the heavy flatboats that carried the artillery, while a rear-guard of provincials and regulars closed the long procession."

It will be unnecessary to go into the details of this disastrous campaign as it is not only well known to most of you but three papers bearing on the subject will be read at this meeting.* Briefly the army landed at the foot of Lake George the morning of the 6th and the afternoon of the same day Lord Howe at the head of a Ticonderoga party was killed at the outlet of Trout Brook. This is the beginning of the end as Lord Howe was the real head of the army. Abercrombie took until the eighth to make up his mind what to do and this interim gave the French time to build the fatal breastworks across the ridge about one-half mile west of the Fort and enabled Levis to arrive with reinforcements.

*Abercromby's full report to Pitt, under date of July 12, 1758, will be found in Mr. Holden's article on Lord Howe.

As the breastworks play a most important part in the Battle it will perhaps be well to again quote from Parkman who gives a most comprehensive description. "The trees that covered the ground were hewn down by thousands, the tops lopped off, and the trunks piled one upon another to form a massive breastwork. The line followed the top of the ridge, along which it zigzagged in such a manner that the whole front could be swept by flank-fires of musketry and grape. It was so high that nothing could be seen over it but the crowns of the soldiers' hats. The upper tier was formed of single logs, in which notches were cut to serve as loopholes; and in some places sods and bags of sand were piled along the top, with narrow spaces to fire through. From the central part of the line the ground sloped away like a natural glacis; while at the sides, and especially on the left, it was undulating and broken. Over this whole space, to the distance of a musket-shot from the works, the forest was cut down, and the trees left lying where they fell among the stumps, with tops turned outwards, forming one vast abattis, which, as a Massachusetts officer says, looked like a forest laid flat by a hurricane. But the most formidable obstruction was immediately along the front of the breastworks, where the ground was covered with heavy boughs, overlapping and interlaced, with sharpened points bristling into the face of the assailant like the quills of a porcupine. As these works were all of wood, no vestige of them remains. The earthworks now shown to tourists as the lines of Montcalm were begun four days after the battle to replace the log breastwork; and though on the same ground are not on the same plan."

Behind these breastworks the battalions of LaSarre and Languedoc were posted on the left under Bourlamaque, the first battallion of Berry with that of Royal Roussillon in the center under Montcalm and those of LaReine, Béarn and Guienne on the right under Lévis. A detachment of volunteers occupied the low grounds between the breastworks and the outlet of Lake George and on the side toward Lake Champlain were stationed 450 regulars and Canadians, about 3,600 in all.

It is always easy to criticise an event after it has occurred, but the results certainly show that if Abercrombie had, from the time of Lord Howe's death, asked Montcalm to outline a policy that

would be most pleasing to him, he could not have planned his campaign more to the advantage of the French. He first gave them time to build those formidable breastworks and then instead of choosing any one of half a dozen plans which would have brought victory, he decided to throw his army unsupported by artillery, which was still at Lake George, at the strongest part of the French position, he himself staying in safety at the saw mill (about which we heard this afternoon in the able paper read by Mr. DeLano at the unveiling of the tablet) a mile and a half in the rear of his army.*

The sad result is too well known to dwell on and we pass at once to the part played by the Black Watch. They with the 55th were to have formed the reserve but impatient at being left in the rear the Highlanders could not be restrained and were soon in the front endeavoring to cut their way through the fallen trees with their broadswords. Captain John Campbell, who was one of the two soldiers presented to George II in 1743, with a few men, were the only ones to force their way over the breastworks and they were instantly dispatched with the bayonet.

Lieut. William Grant of the Regiment writes as follows:

"The attack began a little past one in the afternoon and about two the fire became general on both sides. It was exceedingly heavy and without intercession insomuch as the oldest soldier never saw so furious and incessant a fire. The fire at Fontenoy was nothing to it. I saw both."

An officer of the 55th Regiment, of which Lord Howe had been the commander, wrote as follows:

"With a mixture of esteem, grief and envy, I am penetrated by the great loss and immortal glory acquired by the Highlanders engaged in the late bloody affair. Impatient for the fray, they rushed forward to the entrenchments which many of them actually mounted, their intrepidity was rather animated than dampened by witnessing their comrades fall on every side. They seemed more anxious to avenge the fate of their deceased friends than to avoid a like death. In their co-operation we trust soon to give a good account of the enemy and of ourselves. There is much harmony and friendship between the two regiments."

*This General James Abercrombie must not be confused with Sir Ralph Abercrombie who led the Black Watch to victory in Egypt in 1801.

Even the French were impressed with the valor of the Black Watch as Garneau writes in L'Histoire du Canada.[1]

"The Highlanders above all, under Lord John Murray, covered themselves with glory. They formed the head of the troops confronting the Canadians, their light and picturesque costume distinguishing them from all other soldiers amid the flame and smoke. This corps lost half of its men and 25 of its officers were killed or severely wounded."

Lossing writes, "The whole army seemed envious to excell but the Scotch Highland Regiment of Lord John Murray was foremost in the conflict and suffered the severest loss."[2]

I also give in full the letter written by Capt. James Murray to his brother, Mr. Murray of Strowan, dated Albany, July 19, 1758, as his description of the country and the events during and after the battle lend local color to the picture.[3]

"My dear Brother:—The last letter I wrote you was dated from Fort Edward camp about 18th June. We proceeded on to Lake George where Fort William Henry formerly stood which was taken and destroyed by the French last year, where we remained until the 5th curt. and then the whole army embarked on the lake in batteaux that hold 23 men with a month's provisions, all the artillery stores was likewise embarked, and everything else belonging to an army. We were divided into brigades. There was in all about 5,000 regulars and 12,000 provincials. We had also light infantry and rangers who had whale-boats which are the lightest and best going boats that can be. We put off about 8 and got fairly into the lake which I took to be about 20 miles long and not above two miles at the broadest part of it. There are several small islands which are quite covered with wood and all around the lake is very hilly and quite covered with woods, as the most part of the country is, at least what I have seen on't.

This lake abounds in fine trout the meat of which is red, pearch, suckers and several other sorts of fish. There is also plenty of beavers. On the side of the lake there is plenty of deer but I have not seen any since I came to the country. Sometimes when I have been out on command I have killed rattle snakes about four feet long and as thick as the small of one's leg, with 18 rattles, which altogether might be about four inches long. They say some have twenty or more. They have both teeth and a sting. The rattles being at the tail makes them that they can stand up on end and spring a short way at one. When touched they make a great

1. Translation by Bell, Page 539, Vol. I.
2. Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution. Page 119, Vol. I.
3. Atholl Records, p. 438, Vol. 3.

noise with their rattles. Their bite is not so bad as called for it can be easily cured with oil or salt. They smell exactly like a goat, rather ranker if possible before they are seized but afterwards have almost no smell at all. They make the richest and best soup that can be which I eat of and like much. The meat is but insipid.

The 6th we disembarked at the lower end of the lake. In the morning our light infantry and rangers had some skirmishing with the French pickets. Lord Howe was killed at the second shot and he is very much regretted. There was taken that day about 150 prisoners, five of whom were officers. They had a great many killed so that very few of their pickets escaped which consisted in all of about 350.

The next day being the 7th, we were making preparations to invest a fort called Theenderora which is five miles from Lake George and is situate on a neck of land that runs into Lake Champlain. As to the dimensions of that lake I can't say, and marched within a mile and half of it that evening. The next morning the light infantry made the French sentries and small posts retire to their entrenchments for the French had an encampment about half a cannon shot before their fort, and were entrenched after the following manner: They had large cut trees one laid above another a man's height and in the outside there was brush and logs for about 15 paces from it which made it impossible to force their breastworks without cannon which we had not taken up that length as then. They were also under cover of the fort so if we could beat them out of their trenches, they could have retired pretty safely.

Between one and two we marched up and attacked the trenches and got within twenty paces of them and had as hot a fire for about three hours as possibly could be, we all the time seeing but their hats and the end of their muskets. About half an hour before we were obliged to retire I received a shot through my thigh after which I stayed a few minutes but finding if I stayed any longer my thigh would turn stiff and losing a great deal of blood I with help got into the road and that evening with Capt. Gordon Graham, our paymaster, got into a whaleboat and against the next morning got to the upper end of Lake George and was transported down here. I am confined to my bed but the surgeons say my wound looks as well as can be expected, nor is there any sort of danger in it as it has only grazed the bone, so I shall be well soon again. I am in perfect good health, have a good appetite and sleep tolerably well.

Our regiment has suffered much. There was the captain, lieutenant and six subalterns killed on the spot and since the major and the lieutenant have died of their wounds. The colonel, four captains, and twelve subalterns are wounded. 180 men killed and 280 wounded. None of the other regiments' losses were near so great. Capt. Stewart was not touched, Capt. Sterling nor Farqu-

harson were not there so are well, but Lieut. Farquharson's younger brother was killed. Lieut. David Mills, my lieutenant, is not ill wounded and is pretty well, so if you would inform his father-in-lay, Mr. Hamilton of Hutcheson, who stays near Glasgow, you would oblige me. Neil Stewart at Perth knows him.

I received a letter from Lord John 15th May letting me know you are all well which gave me a great deal of pleasure but it would much more so to hear from some of you for it is very long since I had that satisfaction, the last being at Ireland, for Lord John wrote wrote me no particulars.

Offer my humble duty to my dear mother and elsewhere due and best love to dear Lady Charlotte, Lady Sinclair, George, Charlotte and Invercauld, and best blessing attend all the young ones. My kind compliments to Shusy Moray and tell her I had her hair about my neck when I received my wound which might have probably gone to my heart if it had not been wounded already.

I am ever your most affectionate brother,

James Murray.

Thus had the army which landed so proudly two days before been disastrously repulsed, with a loss in killed and wounded and missing of nineteen hundred and forty-four officers and men. In his report of July 12, 1758, Abercrombie gives the casualty of the 42nd as follows:

"Killed—Capt. Lt. John Campbell; Lts. George Farquharson, Hugh McPherson, William Bailey, John Sutherland; Ensigns Peter Stewart and George Rattray.

Wounded—Major Duncan Campbell; Captains Gordon Graham, Thomas Graeme, John Campbell, James Stewart, James Murray; Lieutenants William Grant, Robert Gray, John Campbell, James Grant, John Graham, Alexander Campbell, Alexander McIntosh, Archibald Campbell, David Mill,* Patrick Balnevis; Ensigns John Smith and Peter Grant.

Summary—1 major wounded, captains 1 killed, 4 wounded; lieutenants 4 killed, 11 wounded; ensigns 2 killed, 2 wounded; adjutants 1 wounded; quarter master 1 wounded; sergeants 6 killed, 13 wounded; rank and file 190 killed, 265 wounded."

Stewart of Garth writes as follows:

"Of these the 42nd regiment had 8 officers, 9 serjeants, and 297 men killed, and 17 officers, 10 serjeants, and 306 soldiers wounded. The officers were, Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, Captain John Campbell, Lieutenants George Farquharson, Hugh McPherson, William Baillie, and John Sutherland; Ensigns Patrick Stewart of Bonskied and George Rattray killed; Captains Gordon Graham, Thomas Graham of Duchray, John Campbell of

* This name is given in various places as MILL, MILLS, MILLER and MILNE. The Duke of Atholl is authority for the statement that MILNE is correct.

Strachur, James Stewart of Urrard, James Murray (afterward General); Lieutenants James Grant, Robert Gray, John Campbell, William Grant, John Graham, brother of Duchray, Alexander Campbell, Alexander Mackintosh, Archibald Campbell, David Miller, Patrick Balneaves; and Ensigns John Smith and Peter Grant, wounded."

Capt. James Murray writes from Albany 17th August, 1758:[1] "As I observed in my last, our regiment has suffered greatly. The Major has since died of his wounds, Sandy Farquharson has got his lieutenancy by seniority which one would not have thought that the youngest ensign of the additionals would have been so soon a lieutenant. I am recovering pretty well and can walk about although I am much pained in my knee but hope will be able to soon join the regiment."

Capt. James Stewart writes 14th July from Lake George:[2] "That all the Captains were wounded, less or more, excepting Captains McNeil and Allan Campbell, that Major Campbell got his right arm wounded, but not dangerous and his son, Lieutenant Alexander Campbell had his arm broke betwixt the elbow and shoulder, but he was in a good way."

Parkman states that Lt. Alexander Campbell was severely wounded but reached Scotland alive and died in Glasgow.[3]

Abercrombie reports to Pitt from Lake George, Aug. 19, 1758: "Major Duncan Campbell of the 42nd who was wounded in the arm at the battle on the 8th was obliged to have it cut off and died soon thereafter."[4]

It would seem therefore that Major Campbell and his son were not considered seriously wounded and that modern surgery would soon have cured them. The following however, taken from Garneau's L'Histoire du Canada might explain the unexpected mortality. "Scarcely any of the wounded Highlanders ever recovered, and even those sent home as invalids; their sores cankered, owing to the broken glass, ragged bits of metal, etc., used by the Canadians instead of shot."[5]

Abercrombie states in his report of July 12, 1758, "I sent the wounded officers and men that could be moved to Fort Edward and Albany."

Major Campbell was sent to Fort Edward and upon his death nine days after the battle he was buried in the family lot of his

1. Atholl Records, p. 444, Vol. III.
2. Atholl Records, p. 443, Vol. III.
3. Montcalm and Wolfe, p. 435, Vol. II.
4. Public Record Office, C.O.5. 50.
5. Translation by Bell, page 539, Vol. I.

relatives, the Gilchrists. The body was moved to the new Union cemetery between Sandy Hill and Fort Edward in 1871 but the original stone may still be seen and bears this inscription: "Here Lyes the Body of Duncan Campbell of Inversaw, Esqr Major to The old Highland Regt. Aged 55 Years. Who Died The 17th July, 1758, of The Wounds He Received In The Attack of The Retrenchments of Ticonderoga or Carillon, 8th July, 1758."

Stewart of Garth says, "The old Highland Regiment having suffered so severely * * * * they were not employed again that year."

In the N. Y. Colonial Records, however, we find that some regulars of the 42d and 60th Regts. amounting to 155 men (probably one company of each) were with Bradstreet in his expedition against Fort Frontenac.[1]

In Abercrombie's report of Aug. 19, 1758, he states that part of the additional companies of the 42nd were sent to reinforce Brig. General Provost at Fort Edward and that one company of the 42nd and some of the recovering men were stationed at Albany. From this it might be inferred that the only part of the Black Watch fit for duty were the three additional companies which had not been in the battle of July 8th and it is possible that the one company of the 42nd that had been blown out of its course to Antigua and had not arrived at New York until June did not get further north than Albany. The winter quarters of the 42nd for 1758 were at New York. (Abercrombie to Pitt, No. 25, 1758.)[2]

The official title is now changed to the "42nd or Royal Regiment of Foot," and the regiment is commonly called the Royal Highlanders. It has erroneously been stated that the Black Watch was granted this honor of being a "Royal" regiment because of its gallantry at Ticonderoga, but it is all the more to its credit that it had earned this distinction before the battle at Ticonderoga. The title was granted by special warrant dated July 22, 1758, while the news of the defeat did not reach London until the arrival of Abercrombie's aid de camp with dispatches Aug. 20, 1758.

1. N. Y. Col. manuscript O'Callaghan's, p. 827, Vol. 10.
2. Public Record Office C. O. 5 50.

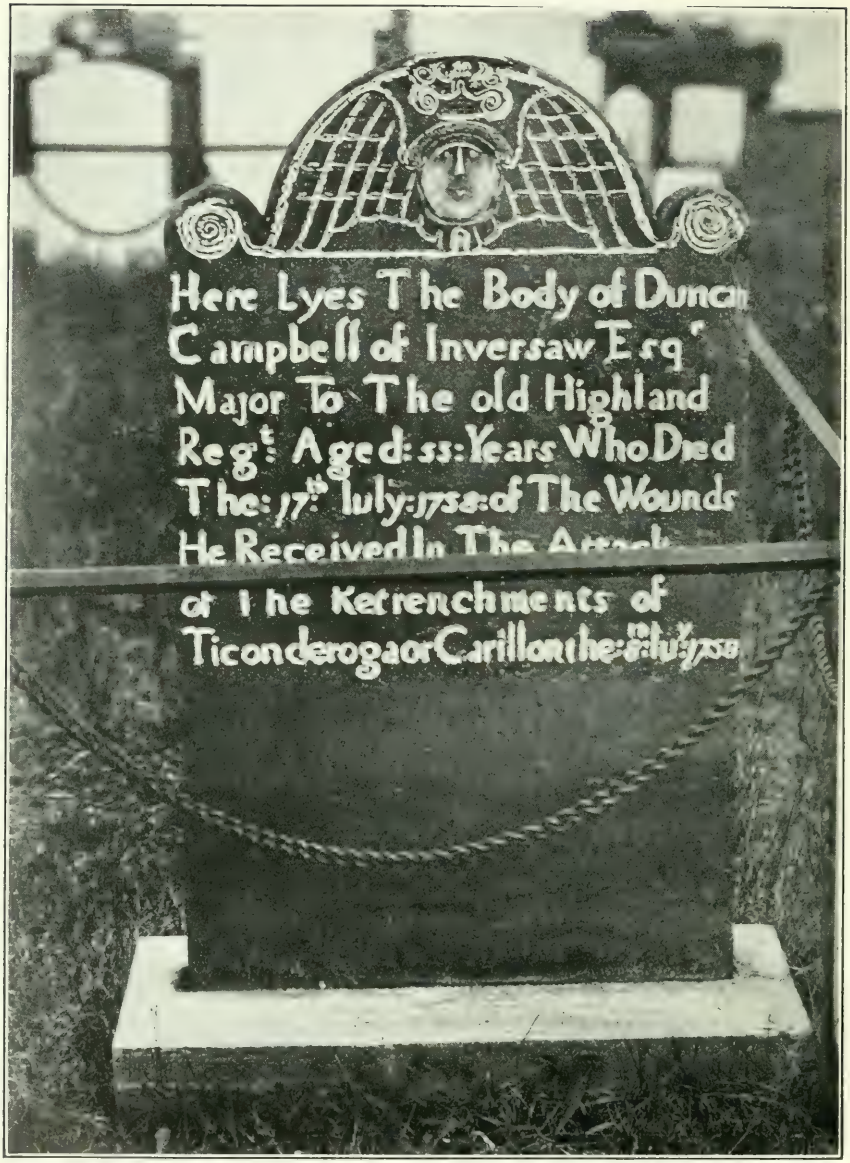

Here Lyes The Body of Dunca
Campbell of Inversaw Esq
Major To The old Highland
Regt Aged: 55: Years Who Died
The: 17th July: 1758: of The Wounds
He Received In The Attack
of The Retrenchments of
Ticonderoga or Carillon the: 8th July 1758

Photo by Chas. D. Case, Fort Edward

THE GRAVE OF MAJOR DUNCAN CAMPBELL

Headstone, of Red Granite, in Gilchrist Lot, Union Cemetery, Between Hudson Falls (Formerly Sandy Hill) and Fort Edward. (Inscription has been Outlined in Chalk for this Photograph)

A copy of the warrant is as follows:

George R

We being desirous to distinguish Our Forty Second Regiment of Foot with some mark of Our Royal favor, Our Will and Pleasure therefore is, and we do hereby direct, that from henceforth Our said regiment be called, and distinguished by the title and name of Our Forty-Second, or Royal Highland Regiment of Foot, in all commissions, orders, and writings, that shall hereafter be made out, or isued for and concerning the said regiment. Given at Our Court at Kensington this 22nd day of July 1758, in the thirty second year of Our reign. By His Majesty's command,

(Signed) BARRINGTON.

The vacancies occasioned in the 42nd were filled up in regular succession and the seven companies which had been ordered at the same time as the change of title were immediately recruited. These were completed in three months and embodied at Perth, October 1758, each company being 120 men strong, all with few exceptions Highlanders and hardy and temperate in their habits. (Lord John Murray's orders were peremptory that none but Highlanders be taken, but a few O'Donnels, O'Lachlans and O'Briens passed muster as Mac Donnels, Mac Lachlans and Mac Briars.)

These seven companies with the three additional companies raised in 1757 were formed into a Second Battalion. The officers appointed to the seven new companies were Robert Anstruther, who was senior captain and served as Major, Francis MacLean, Alexander Sinclair, John Stewart of Stenton, William Murray of Lintrose, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Reid, and Robert Arbuthnot, to be captains; Alexander MacLean, George Grant, George Sinclair, Gordon Clunes, Adam Stewart, John Robertson, son of Lude, John Grant, James Fraser, George Leslie, John Campbell, Alexander Stewart, Duncan Richardson, and Robert Robertson, to be lieutenants; and Patrick Sinclair, John MacIntosh, James MacDuff, Thomas Fletcher, Alexander Donaldson, William MacLean, and William Brown, to be ensigns.

The seven new companies embarked for the West Indies where they joined with the Old Buffs, Kings, 6th, 63d, 64th, 800 marines and a detachment of artillery amounting in all to 5,560 men under the command of Major Generals Hopson and Barrington and of Brigadier Generals Haldane, Armiger, Trapaud and Clavering, in an expedition against Martinique and Gaudaloupe. This result-

ed in the capture of Gaudaloupe but was not altogether a success and a great many men were lost by fever and sickness. Of the Royal Highlanders Ensign MacLean was killed, Lieutenants MacLean, Leslie, Sinclair and Robertson were wounded, and Major Anstruther and Captain Arbuthnot died of the fever. One hundred and six privates were killed, wounded or died of disease.

This was a severe initiation for the new recruits who had been herding sheep on their native hills nine months before, but as has always been the case with the Black Watch they acquitted themselves with distinction. The seven companies were then embarked for New York to join the First Battalion where they arrived in July. They just missed being at the capture of Ticonderoga. Major Gordon Graham was ordered at the end of July by General Amherst then at Crown Point to take command of the seven companies and to march them up to Oswego. In August they were ordered to join the First Battalion, Capt. Stewart with 150 men being left at Oswego and the First and Second Battalions, now united, served together for the rest of the campaign.

We will now return to the Veterans of the previous year. After wintering at New York (or on Long Island, as another authority states) the old Black Watch now the first Battalion of the Royal Highlanders, recruited again to its full strength and the three additional companies now a part of the Second Battalion, joined Amherst at Fort Edward in June, 1759.* Col. Grant of the 42d with the Royal Highlanders and light infantry of the army moved forward to Lake George the 20th and the main part of the army followed on the 21st. For five years now Lake George had been the annual mustering place of armies.

The campaign this season comprehended three very important enterprises—Wolfe was to attack Quebec from Lower Canada, Prideaux was to proceed against Niagara, and Amherst, now Commander in Chief and successor of General Abercrombie, was to drive the French from Lake Champlain and if possible join Wolfe on the St. Lawrence.

The army under Amherst consisted of the Royals, 17th, 27th, Royal Highlanders, two battalions of the 55th, Montgomery's Highlanders, nine battalions of Provincials, and a battalion of light in-

*See Appendix for extracts from Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book for record of daily service of Black Watch in Ticonderoga and Crown Point campaign.

fantry and a body of Rangers and Indians with a detachment of artillery. When joined by the 2d battalion of the Royal Americans from the West Indies, this army amounted to 14,500 men.

Amherst was never long in one place without building a fort there. Fortified places were built at intervals of three or four miles along the road to Fort Edward and especially at the station called Halfway Brook, while for the whole distance a broad belt of wood on both sides was cut down and burned to deprive a skulking enemy of cover. At Lake George he started a fort, the ruins of which, now called Fort George, are in the Lake George Battle Ground Park of which this Association is custodian.

July 21st, 1759, Lake George again witnessed a military pageant as the army embarked for its second attack on Fort Ticonderoga. At daylight they landed, beat back a French detachment and marched by the portage road to the sawmill. There was little resistance and the army marched to the former line of entrenchments which had proved so fatal to Abercrombie. These had been reconstructed partly of earth and partly of logs, and as the French made no attempt at their defense the English encamped along their front and found them excellent shelter from the cannon of the fort. It is the general impression that the French retreated with only faint resistance and that there was hardly a shot fired at the second attempt to capture Fort Carillon but the following letter from Capt. Murray would correct this impression.*

"Camp at the Lines of Burning, Theanderoga, 27 July, 1759.

My dear Brother:—I write you these few lines to acquaint you that I am in perfect good health and that the army landed at this end of the lake the 22nd, invested the Fort the 23rd and was very buisy carying on the worcks till the 26th in the night, at which time we had three batteries ready to open, when the enemy abbandoned and set fire to the fort. During the time that the enemy remained they could not keep a hotter fire, for I dare say that fired ten thousand cannon shott and five hundred bombs and I don't believe there has been forty men killed and wounded during that hott fire, altho' all the Bombs fell in different parts among us and that we were nigh point blank of the cannon shott but the line that had been of so much hurt to us last year saved our men this.

Your most afft Brother, James Murray."

Atholl Records, p. 452, Vol. III.

I also add Amherst's report to Governor James DeLancey:

Camp at Tienderoga, 27th July, 1759.

Sir:—

On Saturday morning last I embarked with the army at Lake George, the next day landed without opposition and proceeded to the saw mills, and took post on the commanding grounds, meeting only a trifling opposition from the enemy. We lay on our arms all night and early on the 23rd we continued our march to the ground which I took possession of in the forenoon, the enemy having abandoned the lines without destroying them, first having carried off their effects as well as sent away the greatest part of their troops. As soon as I was set down before the place and after having reconnoitered it, I ordered the trenches to be opened and batteries to be made, which were finished last night, and were to have opened at break of day, but the enemy did not think proper to wait till then, having about ten of the clock yesterday evening blown up a part of the Fort, and made their escape all to about 20 deserters. Our loss, considering the fire we sustained is inconsiderable. We have only two officers killed, vis. Colonel Townshend, Deputy Adjutant General and Ensign Harrison of late Forbe's.

Bourlamaque had on receipt of orders from Vandreuil retired down Lake Champlain leaving four hundred men under Hebecourt to defend the fort as long as possible and then to abandon Ticonderoga and later when pressed Crown Point and to retreat to Isle-aux-Noix at the outlet of Lake Champlain, where defense was to be made to the last extremity. When the English battery was ready to open fire Hebecourt saw that further resistance was useless and lighting a slow match to the magazine the French escaped down the lake in their boats and a few hours later an explosion which hurled one bastion of old Fort Carillon skyward shook the promontory. Thus did French Carillon become English Ticonderoga and "Ticonderoga 1758-9" should be among the battle honors to be borne on the Colors of the Black Watch. It is true that these honorary distinctions are only awarded by the King in case of victory but Ticonderoga 1758-9 would certainly be as much a victory as "South Africa 1899-1902," which has been granted. South Africa was not all victory and the Black Watch suffered at Magersfontein as it did at Ticonderoga under Abercrombie.

The length of time elapsed since the battle would also be no objection to the honor being new granted as it was not until 1910, two and one half centuries after, that the Regiments which upheld

British honor on the Coast of Morocco were authorized to bear "Tangier 1662-1680" on their colors and appointments.

Ticonderoga is the one place on the American continent where England and France, Canada and the United States can all unite on one common ground. The Yankees and English can meet here and clasp hands over the time when they once fought together and there is not even a sectional feeling which detracts from the unanimity. The North, South, East and West of the United States all join with equal fervor. Each nation had its defeats here at different times but each also had its victories. Therefore there is no battle honor which could be conferred on any British regiment that would please more people of different nations than "Ticonderoga 1758-9." The fact that there is at present in the village of Ticonderoga a public library and historical building dedicated to a British Regiment, even though this same regiment in its line of duty fought against us in a later war, is sufficient proof that we consider Ticonderoga of international history and above matters of local prejudice.

The rest of the story is soon told. Crown Point was captured and the army was to have moved forward to Isle aux Noix and to the St. Lawrence but a succession of storms so delayed operations that further active movements were abandoned for the remainder of the season. Amherst profiting by the fatal precipitation of his predecessor was slow but sure and in this campaign was successful in every enterprise which he undertook.

After the capture of Crown Point the army under Amherst was mainly employed in building boats on Lake Champlain and forts Amherst at Crown Point and Ticonderoga in the place of old Carillon. The Black Watch was stationed at Crown Point and helped to build Fort Amherst. In November, they went into camp for the winter and in the report of "Garrisons and Winter Quarters of His Majesty's forces in North America under the command of His Excellency, Major General Amherst, Headquarters at New York, 15 Dec., 1759" in the Public Record Office the stations of the Black Watch were as follows: 1st Battalion Royal Highland Regiment, 1 company Halfway Brook, 5 companies Fort Edward, 1 company Fort Miller, 1 company Saratoga, 1 company Stillwater and 1 company Halfmoon, 2d Battalion Royal Highland Regiment,

Albany, one Battalion of the Inniskilling (27th Foot) and two companies of the Rangers were left at Crown Point, six companies Late Brig. Gen'l Forbes's (17th Foot) at Ticonderoga, and four companies 17th Foot at Fort George. The following season (1760) the Black Watch was with Amherst at the capture of Montreal which was the end of the French domain on the American Continent.

In 1761 the Black Watch with ten regiments embarked for Barbadoes there to join an armament against Martinique and Havana. After the surrender of Havana, the first battalion of the 42nd and Montgomery's Highlanders embarked for New York which they reached in the end of October, 1762. Before leaving Cuba most of the second battalion of the 42nd fit for service were consolidated with the first, and the remainder shipped to Scotland where they were reduced the following year.

The Black Watch was stationed at Albany until the summer of 1763, when they with a detachment of Montgomery's Highlanders and another of the 60th, under command of Col. Henry Boquet were sent to the relief of Fort Pitt then beseiged by the Indians. The 42nd passed the winter at Fort Pitt and during the summer of 1764, eight companies were sent with the army of Boquet against the Ohio Indians. After subduing the Indians they returned to Fort Pitt, January, 1765. The regiment remained in Pennsylvania until the month of July, 1767, when it embarked at Philadelphia for Ireland. Such of the men who preferred to remain in America were permitted to join other regiments. These volunteers were so numerous that along with those who had been previously sent home disabled and others discharged and settled in America, the regiment that returned was very small in proportion to that which had left Scotland.

Let us now turn our attention to Major Duncan Campbell as not only would no sketch of the Black Watch of Ticonderoga be complete without the legend with which his name is associated, but we are perhaps more interested in him than any other other officer of the Regiment of that time because he lies buried in the cemetery midway between Hudson Falls (formerly Sandy Hill) and Fort Edward. The other officers and men who were killed July 8, 1758, were doubtless buried on the field of battle and if the

AT INVERAWE

Old Inverawe House From the River Awe. With Ben Cruachan in the Background
View From the West. X Marks the Window of the Ghost Room
Bridge Over the Awe Built by Captain William Pitman About 1756

graves were ever marked these marks have long since been destroyed.

No ghost story is more widely known or better authenticated than that of Duncan Campbell of Inverawe. It has been made the subject of an address before this Association by the late Robert O. Bascom at the meeting of July 30, 1901, and has been repeated in many forms and in various publications but it will bear still one more repetition. The following is taken from Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe" and is the story as was told by Dean Stanley and endorsed by the family of the hero of the tale:

"The ancient castle of Inverawe stands by the banks of the Awe, in the midst of the wild and picturesque scenery of the Western Highlands. Late one evening, before the middle of the last century, as the laird, Duncan Campbell, sat alone in the old hall, there was a loud knocking at the gate; and, opening it, he saw a stranger, with torn clothing and kilt besmeared with blood, who in a breathless voice begged for asylum. He went on to say that he had killed a man in a fray, and that the pursuers were at his heels. Campbell promised to shelter him. "Swear on your dirk!"* said the stranger; and Campbell swore. He then led him to a secret recess in the depths of the castle. Scarcely was he hidden when again there was a loud knocking at the gate, and two armed men appeared. "Your cousin Donald has been murdered, and we are looking for the murderer!" Campbell, remembering his oath, professed to have no knowledge of the fugitive; and the men went on their way. The laird, in great agitation, lay down to rest in a large dark room, where at length he fell asleep. Waking suddenly in bewilderment and terror, he saw the ghost of the murdered Donald standing by his bedside, and heard a hollow voice pronounce the words: "Iverawe! Iverawe! blood has been shed. Shield not the murderer!" In the morning Campbell went to the hiding place of the guilty man and told him that he could harbor him no longer.

* The oath of the Campbells of Inverawe was by Ben Cruachan.

Bibliography of the Legend of Duncan Campbell of Inverawe.
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C. F. Gordon Cumming in the Atlantic Monthly, September, 1884.
W. Max Reid, "Lake George and Lake Champlain."
Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, "Tales of the Highlands."
Winsor's Critical and Narrative History of the United States.
Lord Archibald Campbell, "Records of Argyle," William Blackwood & Sons, 1885.
Winsor's critical and narrative History of the United States.
"The Magazine of History," July, 1906.

"You have sworn on your dirk!" he replied; and the laird of Inverawe, greatly perplexed and troubled, made a compromise between conflicting duties, promised not to betray his guest, led him to the neighboring mountain (Ben Cruachan) and hid him in a cave.

In the next night, as he lay tossing in feverish slumbers, the same stern voice awoke him, the ghost of his cousin Donald stood again at his bedside, and again he heard the same appalling words: "Inverawe! Inverawe! blood has been shed. Shield not the murderer!" At break of day he hastened, in strange agitation, to the cave; but it was empty, the stranger had gone. At night, as he strove in vain to sleep, the vision appeared once more, ghastly pale, but less stern of aspect than before. "Farewell, Inverawe!" it said; "Farewell, till we meet at TICONDEROGA!"

The strange name dwelt in Campbell's memory. He had joined the Black Watch, or Forty-second Regiment, then employed in keeping order in the turbulent Highlands. In time he became its major; and, a year or two after the war broke out, he went with it to America. Here, to his horror, he learned that it was ordered to the attack of Ticonderoga. His story was well known among his brother officers. They combined among themselves to disarm his fears; and when they reached the fatal spot they told him on the eve of the battle, "This is not Ticonderoga; we are not there yet; this is Fort George."[1] But in the morning he came to them with haggard looks. "I have seen him! You have deceived me! He came to my tent last night! This is Ticonderoga! I shall die today!" and his prediction was fulfilled."

As will be seen by the preceding pages, Inverawe lived nine days after the battle and was not even mortally wounded if it had been possible in those times to have had antiseptic treatment, but the real point of the legend is that he had been warned of Ticonderoga when he did not know there was such a place, years before there was any prospect of his being sent there and when Ticonderoga was only the Indian name for a point of land on a lake in the wilderness of a far off continent.

To one interested no place could be more fascinating than old Inverawe[2] everything connected with it breathes of legend and romance and naturally this was one of the first places visited in our Black Watch pilgrimage last summer. Taynuilt, the railroad station nearest Inverawe is a small village across the Awe and about a mile away as the crow flies, but to drive to our destination, one must follow the road two miles up the River to the old bridge

1. More probably Fort Carillon.
2. Inver means "the mouth of," therefore the mouth of the River Awe.

Photo by Miss Dorothea E. Seton, Edinburgh
Two Views of Library

OLD INVERAWE HOUSE

A Corner of the Ghost Room

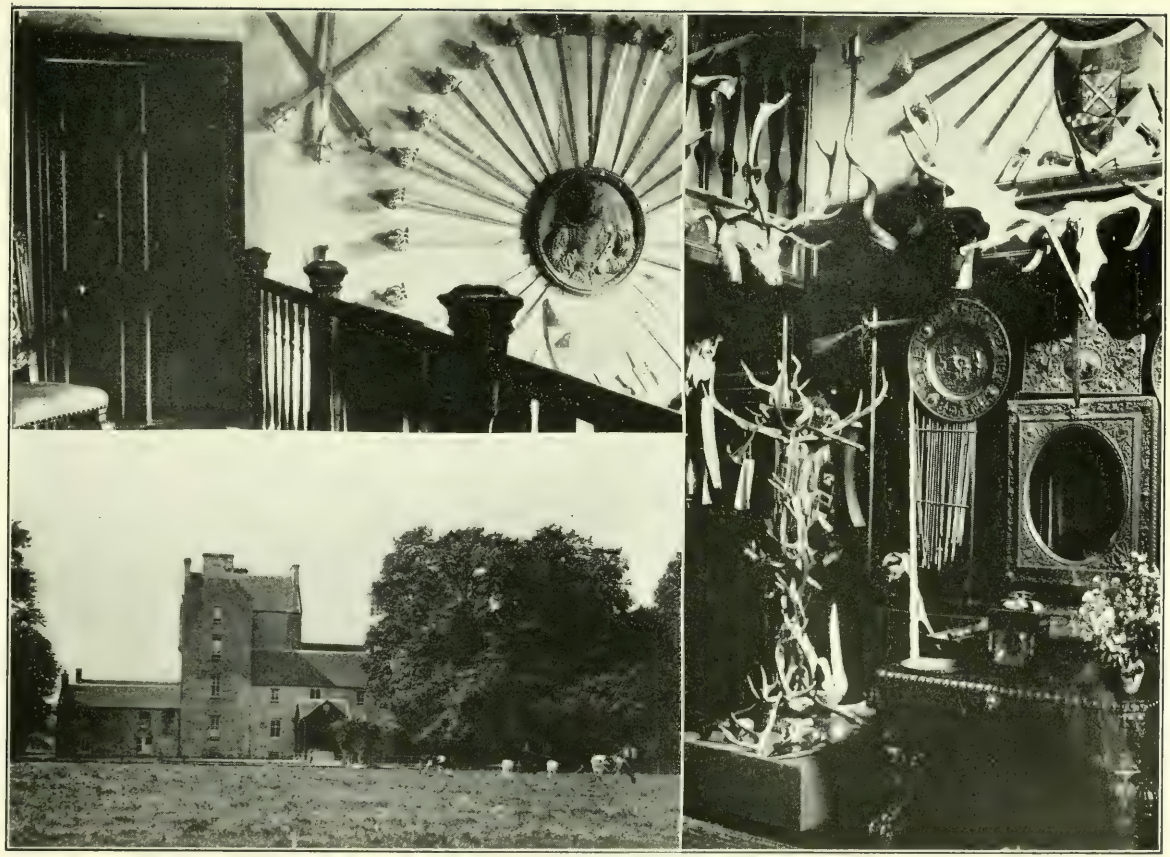


Photo by Miss Dorothea E. Seton, Edinburgh

OLD INVERAWE HOUSE

Showing Door to Ghost Room From Balcony in Entrance Hall

View From North Showing Main Entrance

Entrance Hall (Door to Ghost Room May be Seen in Upper Left Hand Corner)

which was being built at the time that the Major left for the war in America in 1756. The builder was Captain William Pitman apparently a good friend of Duncan of Inverawe as he charged him with the safe keeping during his absence of his daughter Janet and his favorite dog. History does not record what happened to the dog but the Captain married the daughter and in time Inverawe became her property. She later sold Inverawe to her mother's brother, Col. Robert Campbell of Monzie, and when she left the estate she washed her hands at the border in a bottle of wine, which we were told was an old Highland custom.

After crossing the Awe the road turns down the north side of the River and winds through a magnificent park some of the trees of which must certainly have been there before the Major's time. This is all the more remarkable because with the exception of the parks of the private estates Scotland is nearly a treeless country and even the mountains and wild land which with us would be covered with forests, have there only grass and heather. Then at the end of a delightful four mile drive was old Inverawe house and a most cordial and hospitable welcome from its present owner.

The old house has had many additions in the past one hundred and fifty years but the entrance hall and the main part of the building and particularly the room where Duncan Campbell saw the ghost, are still very much as they were in his time. We endeavored to learn as much as possible of the family history of the Campbells of Inverawe, but like the records of the Black Watch of that time, there is little left but tradition.

There are two legends of the Campbells of Inverawe which we found in the "Records of Argyle by Lord Archibald Campbell" which are interesting. It seems that a Mary Cameron of the Camerons of Callard Castle on the shores of Lochleven, who was forbidden to love one Campbell, son of the house of Inverawe, their nearest neighbor, was locked in the highest room in the front tower of the castle as a cure. While there a boat came from foreign parts with rich shawls and other articles from the far east which were shown to the inmates of the castle, but the plague was also a part of the cargo of this mysterious boat and every inmate of the castle died, except Mary who on account of her being a prisoner was not exposed. But this left her in almost as fatal a predicament, as she

was still locked in and likely to starve to death, but she managed to attract the attention of a passing shepherd, and thus sent word to her lover who at once rescued her and in time they were married (about 1510) and we presume lived happily ever afterwards.

Another family tradition was that a Campbell of Inverawe, dying, left a son and heir under the tutorship of his brother. The uncle, a man of fierce and remorseless disposition, had resolved to do away with his nephew and secure the estate to himself. The boy's nurse and foster-mother, upon learning this, fled with her charge to Carnassery in the parish of Kilmartin. When he was within a few years of becoming of age, his uncle invited him to come to Iverawe. Soon after his arrival, accompanied by his servant, he went out to shoot and on his return to the house dinner was ready. When it was being laid, the dogs of the house fought around the table and in the scuffle between them, the cloth was disarranged revealing a dagger at the end of the table where the uncle was to sit. The servant noticed the dagger and concluding that it boded no good to his master, informed the latter and counselled flight. Going to the stable they saddled the horses and fled. The uncle was no sooner aware of their flight than he set out in pursuit, disappointment and rage spurring him on, and overtook them in the wood of Nant. When they saw him coming on the hill above them, the servant said to the heir, "Yonder is your uncle coming in pursuit of us. If you do not kill him, he will kill you." The young man hesitated at first to take his uncle's life but realizing the truth of what his servant had said, he put an arrow to the bow, took aim and sent it to its mark. The uncle fell dead from his horse, the victim of his own wickedness and cruelty. A cairn of stones covers the spot where he fell and is called Cairn Mhic Dhonnchaidh to this day.

The Campbells of Inverawe were descended from Duncan, one of the sons of Neil. 10th knight of Lochawe, hence the Gaelic name for the family was Mac Dhonnchaidh Ionaratha, which means Mac Duncan of Iverawe.

Since Janet sold the Inverawe estate to her mother's uncle, Col. Robert Campbell of Monzie, the estate passed forever from the ownership of the Campbells of Inverawe and all further trace of this branch seems to be lost. Janet, who married William Pitman,

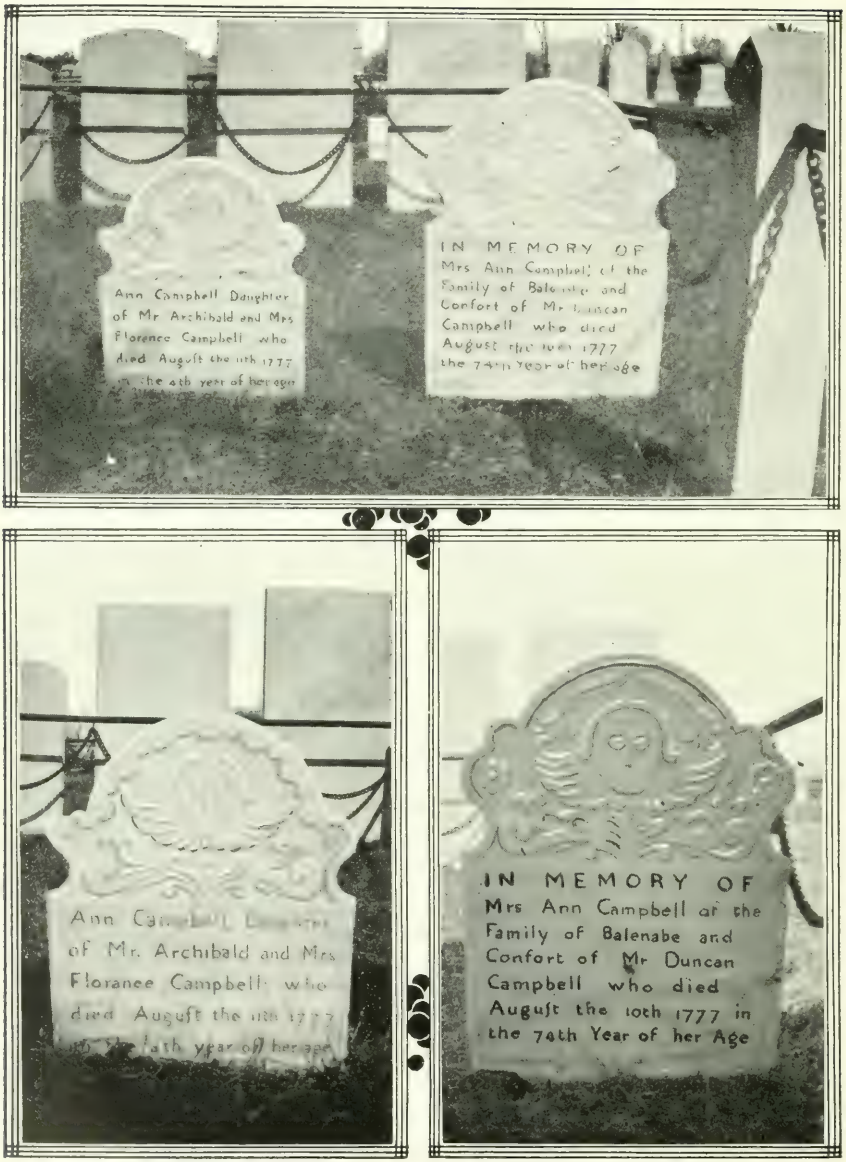
had only one daughter Susan who died unmarried. As has already been seen, Lieut. Alexander Campbell was wounded at Ticonderoga, died at Glasgow, and was unmarried. All are united that Duncan of Inverawe had a third child but there seems to be conflicting testimony as to whether it was a boy or a girl. We were told at Inverawe that the third child was a son who died unmarried, in which event this line would have entirely died out, but Captain Douglass Wimberley of Inverness who has written a book on the Campbells of Kilmartin and Inverawe, states that the third child was a daughter named Ann who married Campbell of Achlain and had seven sons and five daughters, but no more mention is made of this branch of the family and we were unable to trace them further.

We tried to find a portrait of Duncan Campbell, but there was not even a tradition of his personal appearance. Charles MacDonald of Barrachander, the head gamekeeper, a man now over eighty, who has been on the Inverawe estate all his life, and his father before him, said that from his knowledge of the family he would judge him to have been a large man with dark complexion. When we reached home, we questioned the Gilchrist family, descendants of the Alexander Gilchrist in whose family lot Duncan Campbell had been buried, and they make the following statement: In 1871, Walter and James Gilchrist, now dead, moved Duncan Campbell's body from the old cemetery at Fort Edward to the present grave. The body was found in a sealed leaden casket in a brick lined grave and the Gilchrist brothers, being curious to see if anything remained after so many years, opened the coffin. When the casket was first opened the body was found to be intact and almost as natural as when first buried but in a few minutes after the air touched it, it fell away to dust. The body was of a large man with dark complexion. This tallies exactly with the description of Duncan Campbell as given by Charles MacDonald and is probably as near as we will ever be able to get it.

There is still another mystery connected with the family of Duncan of Iverawe, and that is, how does it happen that his wife lies buried in the same graveyard in far-away America, for in the Gilchrist lot is a tombstone which reads, "In memory of Mrs. Ann Campbell of the Family of Balenabe and Consort of Mr. Duncan Campbell, who died August the 10th, 1777 in the 74th year of her

age.'' It would seem almost certain that on account of the similarity of ages and the coincidence of names that this must have been the wife of the Major, but did she come to America with him as was the custom of the wives of the officers of that day and continue to live with her relatives until her death? The fact that no mention is made of her ownership of Inverawe, which seemed to pass from Mayor Duncan to the daughter Janet would make this probable.

As has been noted Duncan Campbell died in 1758 at the age of 55, which would make the year of his birth 1703 and Mrs. Ann Campbell dying at 74 years in 1777 would make the same date of birth. Captain Douglas Wimberley gives the wife of Duncan of Inverawe as Johanna, daughter of Campbell of Ballinaby, the tombstone states Ann of Balenabe, which is quite near enough for that period when correct spelling was not one of the virtues. As has perhaps been already noted Inverawe is spelled Inversaw on the Duncan Campbell tombstone. Another headstone beside Mrs. Ann Campbell in the Gilchrist lot reads ''Ann Campbell, Daughter of Mr. Archibald and Mrs. Floranee Campbell, who died August the 11th, 1777 in the 4th year of her age.'' It would seem quite probable that Mrs. Ann Campbell was staying at Mr. Archibald Campbell's at the time of her death and as they died only one day apart that she and the infant Ann, were both stricken with some contagious disease. This second tombstone may give us the clew which will unravel the mystery of relationship and that this and some of the other questions which have arisen may be answered in some future article.


Ann Campbell Daughter
of Mr Archibald and Mrs
Florence Campbell who
died August the 11th 1777
IN MEMORY OF
Mrs Ann Campbell of the
Family of Balenabe and
Confort of Mr Duncan
Campbell who died
August the 10th 1777
the 74th Year of her Age
Ann Campbell Daughter
of Mr. Archibald and Mrs
Florance Campbell who
died August the 11th 1777
IN MEMORY OF
Mrs Ann Campbell of the
Family of Balenabe and
Confort of Mr Duncan
Campbell who died
August the 10th 1777 in
the 74th Year of her Age

OTHER CAMPBELL GRAVES NEAR DUNCAN CAMPBELL'S

Two White Marble Head Stones in Gilchrist Lot, Union Cemetery, Between Hudson Falls (Formerly Sandy Hill) and Fort Edward. (Inscriptions have been outlined in lead pencil for this photograph.)

Blair Castle at Blair Atholl, the Princ'pal Seat of the Duke of Atholl. Oldest Part of Castle Built About 1255

The Duke of Atholl Reviewing the Atholl Highlanders, a Guard of Over 200 From Atholl Estate, Whose Average Height is Nearly Six Feet

SIR JOHN JAMES HUGH HENRY STEWART-MURRAY, K. T. SEVENTH DUKE OF ATHOLL
Honorary Colonel Third Battalion the Black Watch and Present Head the Clan Murray

APPENDIX

A

ROLL FROM AN OLD PAPER IN POSSESSION OF THE 7TH DUKE OF ATHOLL. OFFICERS OF THE 42ND HIGHLANDERS, NEW YORK, MAY 22, 1757.

Lt. Col. Francis Grant, son of the Laird of Grant, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Major Duncan Campbell, of Inverawe, killed at Ticonderoga.

Captain Gordon Graham, of Drainie, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Captain John Reid, of Straloch, wounded at Martinique.

Captain John McNeil.

Captain Allan Campbell, son of Barcaldine.

Captain Thomas Graeme, of Duchray, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Captain James Abercrombie.

Captain John Campbell, of Strachur, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Captain John Campbell, of Duneavis, killed at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant William Grant, of Rothiemurchus family, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant Robert Gray, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant John Campbell, younger of Glenlyon, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant George Farquharson, killed at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant Sir James Cockburn.[1]

Lieutenant Kenneth Tolmie.

Lieutenant James Grant (adjutant, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant John Graham (quartermaster), wounded at Ticonderoga and wounded at Fort Pitt.

Lieutenant Hugh McPherson, killed at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant Alex. Turnbull, of Strathcavers, wounded at Martinique.

1. Lieut. Sir James Cockburn transferred to 48th Foot. Ensign Patrick Balneavis made Lieut., commission dated 1st April, 1758, and Mr. Elbert Hering succeeded to the Ensigncy, commission dated April 3d, 1758 (See extract from letter Jas. Abercrombie to Lord Viscount Barrington, Albany, May, 27, 1758.)

Lieutenant Alex. Campbell, son of Inverawe, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant Alex. McIntosh, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant James Gray.

Lieutenant William Baillie, killed at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant Hugh Arnot.

Lieutenant John Sutherland, killed at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant John Small.

Lieutenant Archibald Campbell.

Lieutenant James Campbell.

Lieutenant Archibald Lamont.

Ensign Duncan Campbell, wounded at Fort Pitt.

Ensign Patrick Balneavis,[1] son of Edradour, wounded at Ticonderoga, wounded at Martinique.

Ensign Patrick Stewart,[2] son of Bonskeid, killed at Ticonderoga.

Ensign Norman MacLeod.

Ensign George Campbell.

Ensign Donald Campbell.[3]

Ensign James McIntosh, wounded at Fort Pitt.

Ensign Alex. McIntosh, wounded at Martinque.

Ensign Peter Grant, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Three additional Companies embarked for America, November, 1757.

Captain James Stewart, younger of Urrard, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Captain James Murray, son of Lord G. Murray, wounded at Ticonderoga, wounded at Martinique.

Captain Thomas Stirling, younger of Ardoch, wounded at Martinique, wounded at New Jersey.

Lieutenant Simon Blair.

Lieutenant David Barclay, killed at Martinique.

Lieutenant Archibald Campbell, wounded at Ticonderoga.

Lieutenant Alex. Mackay.

Lieutenant Alex. Menzies.

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1. See Foot Note at bottom of preceding page.
2. Miss Ethel Lomas, copiest at Public Record Office, London, is authority for the statement that this should be Peter (not Patrick) Stewart
3. Son of Capt. Lauchlin Campbell of Island of Isla and New York Colony.

Grenadier Bearskin with Scarlet Visor; White Stock; Scarlet Jacket and Waistcoat with White Lace Trimmings, Silver Buttons and Buff Collar and Cuffs; Black Leather Sword Belt; and Cartouch-Box and Belt; Tan Leather Sporran; Murray of Atholl Belted Plaid; Red and White Hose and Black Leather Shoes

This is the Same Uniform Worn by the Other Companies of the Black Watch in 1758 Except the Head Dress was Blue Bonnet, With Checkered Border and Tuft of Feathers and Black Watch Tartan Belted Plaid

Lieutenant David Milne,[4] wounded at Ticonderoga, wounded at Martinique.

Ensign Duncan Stewart, son of Derculich.

Ensign George Rattray, son of Dalralzion, killed at Ticonderoga.

Ensign Alex. Farquharson.

4. This name is given as David Mills in the Army List, but the Duke of Atholl is authority for the statement that Milne is correct.

5. "Ensign John Smith is added in ink to the 1858 Army List in the N. Y. State Library at Albany and is also marked as "wounded at Ticonderoga."

B

ROLL OF CAPT. JOHN REID'S COMPANY, NOV., 1757.

The following is the roll of Capt. John Reid's Company of the 42nd, which was commanded by Capt. James Murray during the expedition. Taken from Atholl Records, page 440, Vol. III.

Capt. James Murray, wounded.
Lieut. Kenneth Tolmie.
Lieut. David Mill, wounded.
Ensign Charles Menzies.
Sergt. James McNab.
Sergt. John McAndrew.
Sergt. John Watson.
Sergt. Alex'r Cumming.
Corporal John Cumming.
Corporal Jonathan Grant.
Corporal Angus McDonald.
Corporal John Stewart.
Drum Walter McIntyre, killed.
Drum Alan Campbell.

Privates.

Wm. Anderson.
John Buchanan, killed.
Angus Cameron.
Hugh Cameron, killed.
Wm. Carmichael.
Donald Carr, killed.
Hugh Christie.
Alex. Cumming.
James Farquharson, killed.
Alex. Fraser.
Donald Fraser.
Donald Fraser.
Hugh Fraser.
Hugh Fraser, killed.
John Forbes.
John Graham.
Donald Grant.
James Grant.
John Grant.
John Grant.
William Grant.
James Gordon.
William Gordon.
Donald Kennedy.

Donald Kennedy.
John Kennedy.
George McAdam.
John McArthur.
Donald McColl.
Donald McDiarmid.
Angus McDonald.
Arch'd McDonald.
Arch'd McDonald, killed.
James McDonald, killed.
John McDonald.
Lachlan McDonald.
William McDonald, killed.
Neil McEachern.
Peter McFarlane.
Peter McFarlane, killed.
John McGillvray.
Leonard McGlashan.
Alex McGregor.
Donald McGregor.
Robert McGregor.
John McIntosh.
Alex McIntyre.
Donald McIntyre.
James McIntyre, killed.
Hector McInven.
Hugh McKay.
Alexr McKenzie.
Hugh McKenzie.
Hugh McKenzie.
John McKenzie, killed.
John McKenzie.
Roderick McKenzie.
Dougall McLachlan, killed.
John McLaren.
Roderick McLaren.
Neil McLeod.
Norman McLeod, killed.
Donald McLeish.
Donald McLeish.
William McLinnion.
Neil McMillan.
Donald McNeil, killed.
Neil McNeil.
Hugh McPhee.
John McPhee.
Alex McPherson.
Donald McPherson.
Donald McQueen, killed.
James Michael.
Donald Murray.
James Murray.
James Rea.
Alex'r Reid.
Alex'r Ross.
Donald Ross.
Hugh Ross, killed.
John Ross.
Donald Robertson.
Neil Shaw.
John Sinclair, died of wounds.
John Smith.
Walter Spaulding.
Alex'r Stewart.
Charles Stewart, died of wounds.
Donald Stewart, died of wounds.
Walter Stewart, died of wounds.
Robert Urquhart.
Donald Watson.
Donald Wheet.
William Wishart.
Duncan Wright.

The above roll was made out at the muster in October, 1757, and contains the names of those who served in the Company for the previous six months. Unfortunately the names of the non-commissioned officers and men who were wounded at Ticonderoga are not shown.

C

ROLL OF CAPT. JAMES MURRAY'S COMPANY, NOV., 1757.

This Company was at Fort Edward captained by Capt. James Abercrombie and not in the battle of July 8, 1758.

Atholl Records, p. 431, Vol. III.

Sergt. Wm. Grant.
Sergt. Charles Robinson.
Sergt. John McQueen.
Corporal John Leslie.
Corporal Robert Lachlan.
Drummer Alan Campbell.

Privates.

George Bremmer.
Donald Brown.
Duncan Cameron.
John Campbell.
Donald Conacher.
William Cowie.
James Douglas.
Donald Drummond.
James Duncan.
Alex Fraser (1).
Alex Fraser (2).
William Fife.
Robert Grant.
Alex Irvine.
James Kennedy.
Duncan McAndrew.
Donald McDiarmid.
Archibald McDonald.
Archibald McDonald.
Donald McDonald.
John McDonald.
William McDonald.
Peter McFarlane.
Alex'r McIntosh.
Robert McIntosh.
Robert McIntosh.
William McIntosh.
Donald McLean.
Donald McLean.
Thos. McNab.
Alex McPherson.
James McPherson.
Donald McRaw.
Robert Menzies.
William Munro.
John Murray.
Alex'r Nicholson.
Alex'r Norrie.
Alex'r Reid.
Alex'r Robertson.
Angus Robertson.
Archibald Robertson.
Charles Robertson.
Donald Robertson.
James Robertson.
James Robertson.
John Robertson.
Peter Robertson.
James Scroggie.
Alex'r Stewart.
Alex'r Stewart.
Alex'r Stewart.
John Stewart.
Robert Stewart.
Thomas Stewart.
William Stewart.
John Wighton.
John Wighton.

LIST OF PROMOTION 42D REGIMENT OF FOOT.

From Paper in Public Record Office, London.

RANK	NAME	DATE 1758	IN ROOM OF
Major	Gordon Graham	17th July	Duncan Campbell, dead
Captain	William Grant	23d "	Gordon Graham, promoted
Capt. Lieut.	Robert Gray	22nd "	John Campbell, killed
Lieut.	Duncan Campbell	23d "	William Grant, promoted
"	Donald Campbell	24th "	Robert Gray, "
"	James McIntosh	25th "	George Farquharson, killed
"	John Smith	26th "	Hugh McPherson, "
"	Peter Grant	27th "	William Baillie, "
"	Duncan Stewart	28th "	John Sutherland, "
"	Alex. Farquharson	29th "	Hugh Arnotte, pref'd (80th foot)
Ensign	Arch. Campbell, Jr.	21st "	Norman McLeod, pref'd (80th foot)
"	John Gregor	22nd "	George Cambpell, pref'd (80th foot)
"	Lewis Grant	23d "	Patrick Stewart, killed
"	Arch.Campbell, Sen'r	24th "	George Ratthray, "
"	John Graham	25th "	Duncan Campbell, promoted
"	Allen Grant	26th "	Donald Campbell, "
"	John Leith	27th "	Jas. McIntosh, "
"	Charles Menzies	28th "	John Smith, "
"	Archibald McNab	29th "	Peter Grant, "

E

COMPARISON OF LOSSES OF BLACK WATCH AT TICONDEROGA WITH THOSE OF OTHER WARS.

In the "Regimental Losses in the American Civil War, 1861, 1865. A treatise on the extent and nature of the mortuary losses in the Union Regiments, with full and exhaustive statistics compiled from the official records on file on the State Military Bureaus and at Washington, by William F. Fox, Lieut. Col. U. S. V., president of the Society of the 12th Army Corps; late president of the 107th New York Veteran Volunteer Association. Albany Publishing Company, Albany, N. Y., 1899." The writer states that he has examined the records of 2,000 regiments of the Union Army and on page 2 he says, "The one regiment in all the Union Army which sustained the greatest loss in battle during the American Civil War was the 5th New Hampshire Infantry. It lost 295 men killed or mortally wounded in action during the four years of service from 1861 to 1865. It served in the first division, second corps. This division was commanded successively by Generals Richardson, Hancock, Caldwell, Barlow and Miles and any regiment that followed the fortunes of these men was sure to find plenty of bloody work cut out for it. Its loss includes 18 officers killed, a number far in excess of the usual proportions and indicates that the men were bravely led."

"There were 34 regiments of the Union Army whose casualities in killed, wounded or missing amounted to 58 per cent or over of the men engaged in one battle in each case, however, there was not a full regiment engaged. For example, the 1st Minnesota at Gettysburg, which was the highest per centage, had 47 killed and 168 wounded, or a total loss of 215 out of 262 men engaged. This is a loss of 82 per cent.

The 9th Illinois at Shiloh had 61 killed, 300 wounded and 5 missing, a total of 63.3 per cent.

The Light Brigade which has been immortalized by Tennyson, took 673 officers and men into that charge at Balaklava in which 113 were killed and 134 wounded, a total of 247 or 36.7 per cent.

The heaviest loss in the German army of the Franco-Prussian war was the 16th Infantry (3d Westphalian) at Mars LaTour which had 509 killed, 619 wounded, 365 missing, a total of 1,484 or 49.4 per cent out of 3,000 men. The regiments of the German army have 3,000 men."

The above are the greatest casualties suffered in three great wars taken from a book compiled by an authority who had made a study of the subject. Compare with these the loss of the Black Watch at Ticonderoga given by Col. Stewart of Garth as 8 officers, 9 sergeants and 297 men killed and 17 officers, 10 sergeants and 306 soldiers wounded or a casualty of 647 (64.7 per cent) out of the 1,000 men of the 42nd reported by General Abercrombie at Lake George, June 29, 1758.

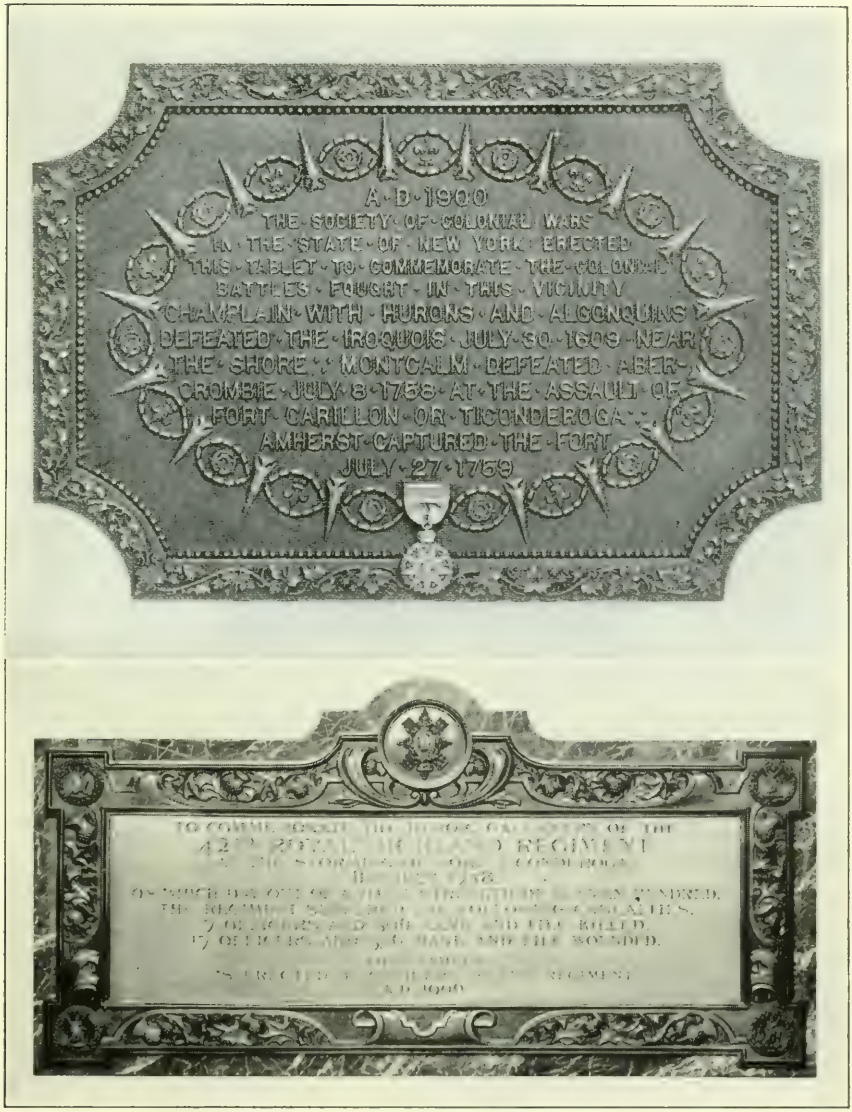
F

TABLE OF LOSSES OF BLACK WATCH IN SEVEN YEAR WAR.

The loss sustained by the regiment during the seven years it was employed in America and the West Indies was as follows:

	KILLED						WOUNDED					
	Field Officers	Captains	Subalterns	Serjeants	Drummers	Privates	Field Officers	Captains	Subalterns	Serjeants	Drummers	Privates
Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758.	1	1	6	9	2	297		5	12	10		306
Martinique, January, 1759.						8			1	2		22
Gaudeloupe, Feb. and Mar., 1759			1	1		25			4	3		57
General Amherst's Expedition to the Lakes, July and Aug., 1759						3				1		4
Martinique, Jan. and Feb., 1762.		1	1	1		12	1	1	7	3	1	72
Havana, June and July, 1762, both battalions						6					1	12
Expedition under Colonel Boquet, August, 1763		1	1	1		26		1	1	2	2	30
Second Expedition under Boquet, in 1764 and 1765						7				1		19
Total in the Seven Years' War.	1	3	9	12	2	384	1	7	25	22	4	522

Stewart of Garth, Appendix.



AT TICONDEROGA

Tablet on Boulder Near French Lines at Fort Ticonderoga

Tablet in Black Watch Memorial at Ticonderoga

G

OFFICIAL TITLES OF BLACK WATCH AT DIFFERENT PERIODS.

1667 to 1739, The Black Watch.
1739 to 1749, 43d Regiment of Foot (The Highland Regiment).
1749 to 1758, 42nd Regiment of Foot (The Highland Regiment).
1758 to 1861, 42nd (or Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot.
1861 to 1881, 42nd Royal Highlanders (The Black Watch).
1881 to date, 1st Battalion The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders).

1758 to 1763, 2nd Battalion 42nd (or Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot.
1780 to 1786, 2nd Battalion 42nd (or Royal Highland), Regiment of Foot.
1786 to 1862, 73d (Highland) Regiment of Foot.
1862 to 1881 73d (Perthshire) Regiment of Foot.
1881 to date, 2nd Battalion The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders).

PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGNS, BATTLES, ETC.

*"Honors" on the Colors, the figures showing the Battalion concerned.

1743-47 Flanders.
1745 Fontenoy.
1745 Jacobite rising.
1757-60 Canada.
1758 Ticonderoga.
1759 Guadaloupe.
1762 Martinique.
1762 Havannah.
1762-67 Indian Frontier.
1763 Bushy Run.
1775-81 America.
1776 Long Island.
1776 White Plains.
1776 Brooklyn.
1776 Fort Washington.
1777 Pisquata.
1777 Brandywine.
1777 Germantown.
1778 Freehold.
1780 Charlestown.
*1783 Mysore (2).
*1783 Mangalore (2).
1793 Pondicherry.
1793-95 Flanders.
1793 Nieuport.
1794 Nimeguen.
1795 Ceylon.
1795 Guildermalsen.

1796 St. Lucia.
1797 St. Vincent.
1798 Minorca.
*1799 Seringapatam (2).
1799 Genoa.
1799 Cadiz.
1800 Malta.
*1801 Egypt (1).
1801 Alexandria.
1801 Aboukir.
1801 Mandora.
*1808-14 Peninsula (1).
1808 Roleia.
1808 Vimiera.
*1809 Corunna (1).
1810 Busaco.
*1811 Fuentes d'Onor (1).
1812 Ciudad Rodrigo.
1812 Salamanca.
1812 Burgos.
*1813 Pyrenees (1).
1813 Gohrde.
*1813 Nivelle (1).
*1813 Nive (1).
*1814 Orthes (1).
1814 Antwerp.
*1814 Toulouse (1).
1815 Quatre Bras.
*1815 Waterloo (1 & 2).
1815 Netherlands.
*1846-53 South Africa (2).
*1854 Alma (1).
1854 Balaclava.
1854 Kertch.
1855 Yenikale.
*1855 Sevastopol (1).
1857-58 Indian Mutiny.
1857 Cawnpore.
*1858 Lucknow (1).
*1874 Ashantee (1).
*1882-84 Egypt (1).
*1882 Tel-el-Kebir (1).
*1884-85 Nile (1).
1884 El-Teb.
1884 Tamai.
*1885 Kirbekan (1).
*1899-1902 South Africa.
*1900 Paardeberg

H

BRITISH REGIMENTS AT TICONDEROGA, 1758.

With Notes From Farmer's Regimental Records.

27th.

1751-1881, The 27th (Inniskilling) Regiment of Foot. Also 1758 "Lord Blakeney's."

1881 (from) First Battalion "The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers."

Nickname—"The Lumps."

Notes.—Formed from three Companies of the Inniskilling forces. It is unique in using the old Irish war-pipes. While employed on the Isthmus of Darien all but nine of six hundred men succumbed. For distinguished gallantry at St. Lucia, in 1696, it was directed that the French garrison in marching out should lay down their arms to the 27th, other marks of favor being likewise accorded to the officers and men of the regiment.

42nd.

1749-58, 42nd Regiment of Foot (The Highland Regiment).

1758-1861, 42nd (or Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot. Also "Lord John Murray's," 1758 and 59.

1881 (from) 1st Battalion The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders).

Regimental Badges—"The Royal Cypher within the Garter." The badge and motto of the Order of the Thistle. Also (in each of the four corners) the Royal Cypher ensigned with the Imperial Crown. Also "The Spinx" (for Egypt, 1801).

Notes—The 1st Battalion of this famous corps, the oldest Highland regiment in the British army, was raised from six Independent companies of Highlanders. Its sombre dress of black, blue, and green tartan gave rise to its popular name. To enumerate its services is simply to narrate the military history of Great Britain since the early part of the last century. Hardly a campaign has been conducted, or a battle fought, in which the Black Watch—one battalion or the other, or both in company—has not participated; always with bravery, and frequently with conspicuous gallantry. Thereto its records of services abundantly testifies. At Fontenoy, Ticonderoga, and at Bushy Run "extraordinary" and unexampled" gallantry was shown. It received Royal distinction in its change of title in 1758, and was privileged to wear the red heckle in the bonnet, in recognition of its conduct at the battle of Guildermalsen in 1795. In Egypt (in 1801, for which it bears "The Sphinx), before Alexandria, it captured the Standard of the French Invincible Legion. Since then it has heaped fame on fame, and added "honor" to "honor" to its colours. Nor has the 2nd Battalion (raised in Perthshire in 1758 as the second Battalion of the 42nd, but, renumbered, long known as the 73rd prior to the territorial restoration of the ancient status) failed to win fresh laurels as occasion arose. At Mangalore (1783) against Tippoo Sahib, and side by side with the senior Battalion at Waterloo, in the Netherlands, in the Indian Mutiny, and in the Kaffir wars of 1846-53, it has worthily sustained the undying fame of the regiment. Recent events in South Africa show that neither the officers nor the men of today have lost one iota of that traditional dash, determination, and the bravery which have won for the Black Watch so glorious a place in British military annals.

44th.

1751-82, The 44th Regiment of Foot. Also 1758, "General Abercrombie's."

1881 (from) The First Battalion "The Essex Regiment."

Nicknames—"The Two Fours" (of the 44th). "The Little Fighting Fours," (the regiment saw hard service in the Peninsula, and its men were of small average stature). "The Pompadours" and "Saucy Pompeys." (Tradition relates that when the facings were changed in 1764 (the crimson not wearing well) the Colonel desired Blue, but, the authorities objecting, he chose Purple, a favorite color of Madame de Pompadour, a mistress of Louis XV, of France).

Notes—The 44th captured an Eagle of the 62nd French Infantry at Salamanica.

46th.

1751-82, The 46th Regiment of Foot. Also 1758 "Lieut. Gen. Thomas Murray's."

1881 (from) Second Battalion "Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry."

Nicknames—These pertain to the late 46th: "Murray's Buck's" (from Colonel's name (1743-64) and its smart appearance on home duty in Scottish Royal livery). "The Surprisers" (from an incident (1777) in the American War). "The Lacedemonians" (its Colonel once, when under heavy fire, made a disciplinarian speech concerning the Lacedemonians). Also in early days, "The Edinburgh Regiment." "The Red Feathers." "The Docs" (the initials).

Note—"The Two Feathers" is a distinction of the 46th, a Light company of which, in 1777, with others were brigaded as "The Light Battalion." The Americans were so harassed by the Brigade that they vowed "No Quarter." In derision, to prevent mistakes, the Light Battalion dyed their feathers red; the 46th Foot alone has retained the distinction.

55th.

1757-82, The 55th Regiment of Foot. Also "Lord Howe's" in 1858 and "Prideaux's" in 1759.

1881 (from) Second Battalion "The Border Regiment."

Nickname—"The Two Fives" (to the 55th for its number).

Notes—The Dragon of China is on the Regimental Badge of the 55th in honor of the victorious campaign in China in 1840-42.

1st and 4th Battalions 60th.

1755-57, The 62nd (Royal American) Regiment of Foot; renumbered.

1757-1824, The 60th (Royal American) Regiment of Foot.

1881 (from) "The King's Royal Rifle Corps."

Notes—This regiment, though possessing no "Colors," bears more honors than any other regiment, the Highland Light Infantry coming next wth twenty-nine. Motto, "Swift and Bold," bestowed according to tradition by General Wolfe in recognition of its conduct at Quebec.

80th.

1758-64, The 80th (Light-armed) Regiment of Foot. Also "Gage's." (Disbanded 1764).

The Royal Regiment of Artillery

One arm or other of this branch of the Service has, obviously, taken part in every campaign; a particularised list is therefore un-

necessary. The guns are the "Colours" of the Artillery, and as such are entitled to all "parade honours." Formerly, regimental honors appear to have been worn by certain companies. Amongst such were "Niagara," "Leipsic," "Waterloo," and "The Dragon of China."

Nicknames—"The Gunners;" "The Four-wheeled Hussars" (of the Royal Horse Artillery).

Notes—Trains of artillery seem to have been raised in the time of Henry VIII.;and up to 1716 appear to have been disbanded after each campaign. In 1716 several companies received permanent corporate existence, since which exigencies of modern warfare have led to an enormous increase in the number of batteries. But from first to last, the record of the Royal Artillery has been one of distinction, and it may fitly be said to share the honors of all other regiments. The Royal Irish Artillery were absorbed in 1801, and the East India Company's Artillery in 1858.

BRITISH REGIMENTS AT TICONDEROGA, 1759.

1st.

1751-1812, The 1st, or The Royal Regiment of Foot, also the "Royals."

1881 (from) The Royal Scots (Lothian Regiment).

Nickname—"Pontius Pilate's Body-guard." It is a legend of the Regiment that the Romans carried off a number of wild, warlike Highlanders as prisoners after their conquest of Britian, and these men and their descendants became soldiers of the Roman Empire and as such they guarded the tomb of Our Savior after the crucifixion. This Scottish company, for it only consisted of one hundred men under a centurion, was kept distinct from the Roman Army proper. At the time of the crucifixion they were called Pontius Pilate's Scotch Guards, and their descendendants were the nucleus of the First Royal Scots in later years.

Notes—The oldest Regiment of Foot in the British Army. Traditionally regarded as the ancient body-guard of the Scottish kings, this famous corps was in the service of Sweden, as "Hepburn's Regiment," from 1625 to 1633; and in that of France from 1633 to 1678, when (under Dumbarton) it came to England. It received its title in 1684 in recognition of the capture of a Colour from the Moors at Tangier. At Sedgemoor (1685) it also captured the Duke of Monmouth's Standard.

17th.

1751-82, The 17th Regiment of Foot. Also "Forbes.' "

1881 (from) "The Leicestershire Regiment."

Nicknames—"The Bengal Tigers" (from its badge); "The Lily-whites" (from its facings).

Notes—Mainly raised near London; twelve regiments in all were formed in 1688, but this and the 16th (The Bedfordshire) are alone in commission now.

27th.

See above, Ticonderoga, 1758.

42nd.

See above, Ticonderoga, 1758.

55th.

See above, Ticonderoga, 1758.

77th.

1756-63, The 77th (Montgomery Highlanders) Regiment; disbanded 1763.

80th.

See above, Ticonderoga, 1758.

Royal Artillery.

See above, Ticonderoga, 1758.

I

PROVINCIAL REGIMENTS AT TICONDEROGA.

(The writer will have to admit that this list is more or less incomplete, even the N. Y. State Library at Albany had only scattered items. It would seem as if this would be a good subject for an article for some future meeting of the Association and any information will be gratefully received).

1758.

The New York Colonial Manuscripts, edited by Callaghan, page 732, in the list of regiments having officers wounded at the battle of July 8, 1758, gives the following regiments: Col. DeLancey's, New York; Col. Babcock's, Rhode Island; Col. Fitche's, Connecticut; Col. Worcester's, Connecticut; Col. Bagley's, Massachusetts; Col. Partridge's, Massachusetts; Col. Preble's, Massachusetts; Col. Johnston's, New Jersey. Parkmen mentions Col. Bradstreet with his regiment of boatmen armed and drilled as soldiers and it is also certain that Roger's Rangers were with the expedition.

The year book of the Maine Chapter of the Society of Colonial Wars for 1900 gives much information in regard to Col. Preble's

regiment, Maine being in 1758 a part of Massachusetts. Mention is made in this article of regiments officered by "Col. Doty, Col. Joseph Williams, Col. Nickols, Col. Whitings."

Also in the New York Colonial Manuscripts, Vol. 10, P. 827, it mentions a force of about 3,000 men nearly all of whom were provincials, under Col. Bradstreet, in the expedition against Fort Frontinac after the battle of July 8, 1758, and of the number of soldiers engaged, the list is given as New Yorkers 1112, Col. Williams' regiment 413, Col. Douty's 248, Rhode Island 318, and Jersey 418."

It is not clear whether these regiments were at the battle of Ticonderoga and were not mentioned in list page 732 of the New York Colonial Manuscripts because none of the officers were wounded, or whether they were the same regiments but with different officers, a change having been made after the battle.

1759.

The provincial regiments mentioned in Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book as being in the Ticonderoga expedition of 1759 are as follows: Col. Lyman's Connecticut; Col. Whiting's, Connecticut; Col. Worcester's, Connecticut; Col. Fitch's, Connecticut; Col. Willard's, Massachusetts; Col. Ruggles', Massachusetts; Col. Lovell's, New Hampshire; Col. Schuyler's, New Jersey; Col. Babcock's, Rhode Island.

J

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF AS MANY OF THE OFFICERS OF 1758 AS COULD BE TRACED.

James Abercrombie.

James Abercrombie was promoted to a captaincy in the 42d or 1st Battalion of the Royal Highlanders on the 16th of February, 1756. On the 5th of May, 1759, he was appointed aid de camp to Maj. Gen. Amherst with whom he made the campaigns of that and the following year. On the 25th of July, 1760, he was appointed Major of the 78th or Fraser's Highlanders and in September following was employed by Gen. Amherst in communicating

to the Marquis de Vaudreuil the conditions preparatory to the surrender of Montreal and in obtaining the signiture of that governor to them. (Knox's Journal). The 78th having been disbanded in 1763, Major Abercrombie retired on half pay. On the 27th of March, 1770, he again entered active service as Lt. Colonel of the 22nd Regiment then serving in America under the command of Lt. Col. Gage and was killed in the memorable Battle of Bunker Hill on the 17th of June, 1775.

New York Colonial Manuscripts by Broadhead, Weed, Parsons Co., Albany, 1856, page 160.

Hugh Arnot.

Hugh Arnot was taken from the half pay list and appointed a Lieutenant in the 42nd Highlanders, 9th April, 1756, at the augmentation of that Regiment on its coming to America, and was promoted to a Company on the 27th December, 1757. He served in the unfortunate affair of Ticonderoga in 1758, and in 1759 accompanied Amherst as above. On the 16th August, 1760, he exchanged into the 46th Foot, in which Regiment he continued to serve until 1769, when his name was dropped from the Army List.

Wilson's Orderly Book, p. 143.

Patrick Balneaves.

Patrick Balneaves, of Edradour, entered the 42nd, as Ensign 28th January, 1756, and was promoted to be Lieutenant 1st April, 1758; he was wounded at Ticonderoga, 1758; and again at Martinico in 1762; became Captain-Lieutenant 23rd August, 1763, and left the army in 1770.

Stewart. Army Lists. N. Y. Colonial Manuscripts, p. 729, Vol. 10.

Allan Campbell.

Allan Campbell, son of Barcaldine, entered the Army as Ensign of the 43d (now the 42d) Highlanders, Dec. 25, 1744, and served that year against the Pretender. Was appointed lieutenant Dec. 1, 1746. He obtained a Company 13th of May, 1755, and the next year came to America, where he shared the difficulties and honors of the Regiment. In June, 1759, he was appointed Major for the Campaign under Amherst, and was actively employed at the Head of the Grenadiers and Rangers, clearing the way for the

army up the Lakes. He became major in the army 15th August, 1762, and went on halfpay on the reduction of the regiment in 1763, having obtained a grant of 5,000 acres of land at Crown Point. He served 19 years in the regiment. In 1770, he was appointed Major of the 36th or Herefordshire Foot, then serving in Jamaica; became Lieutenant-Colonel in the army in May (1772), and of his regiment in January, 1778; Colonel in the Army, 17th Nov., 1780; Major-General in 1787; and died 1795. His Regiment did not serve in America during the Revolutionary War.

Browne, IV, 150.
Knox Journal, I, 373, 377, 387; II. 401.
Army List. Commissary Wilson's Orderly Book. 1759. p. 18. Stewart of Garth Appendix.

Donald Campbell.

Donald Campbell was the oldest son of Captain Lauchlan Campbell of the Island of Isla. He had two brothers and three sisters. His father, Lauchlan Campbell, was possessed of a high sense of honor and a good understanding; was active, loyal, of a military diposition, and withal, strong philanthropic inclinations. By placing implicit confidence in the royal governors of New York, he fell a victim to their roguery, deception and heartlessness, which ultimately crushed him and left him almost penniless. In 1734 Colonel Cosby, Governor of the Province of New York, in order to encourage Protestants from Europe to settle on the northern frontier, promised to each family 200 acres of unimproved land without any fee or expenses whatsoever except a very moderate charge for surveying and liable only to the King's Quit Rent of one shilling and nine pence farthing per hundred acres. In 1737 these proposals fell into the hands of Captain Lauchlin Campbell and the same year he came to North America, and passing through the Province of Pennsylvania where he rejected many considerable offers that were made him, he proceeded to New York. Gov. Cosby was dead but George Clarke, then Governor, solemnly promised him that he should have 1,000 acres for every family that he brought over and each family have from 500 to 150 acres, but declined to make any grant until the families arrived. Capt. Campbell returned to Isla and brought back his own family and thirty other families. He made three trips and brought out in all 83 families composed of 423 persons, all sincere and loyal Protestants. But

after these perilous and expensive voyages, he found no longer the same countenance or protection but on the contrary it was insinuated to him that he could have no land either for himself or the people. He had spent nearly all of his fortune in this undertaking and at last was obliged to take the little that remained and purchase seventy acres north of New York for the subsistence of himself and family. In 1745 he went to Scotland and having the command of a company of the Argyleshire men served with reputation under his Royal Highness the Duke against the Rebels. He returned to America in 1747 and not long after died of a broken heart, leaving his six children in very narrow and distressed circumstances.

At the commencement of the War with France, Donald and his two brothers entered the army and served in the 42nd, 48th and 60th Regiments of Foot during the whole war, at the close of which Donald and one brother were reduced as Lieutenants upon half pay while the youngest boy still continued in the service. At the close of the war, Donald finding that many of the families which had come over with his father, were disposed to settle with him on the lands originally promised, if they could be obtained, petitioned the Governor in 1763 for the said lands but was able only to procure a grant of 10,000 acres. He then petitioned the Lords Commissioners of Trade to direct the Government of New York to grant him the 100,000 acres upon his undertaking to settle 100 or 150 families upon the same within the space of three years. This petition though courteously expressed and eminently just, was rejected. The 10,000 acres which in 1763 were granted to Donald and his brothers, George and James, their three sisters and four other persons, three of whom were also named Campbell, was in the present township of Greenwich, Washington County.

At the breaking out of the Revolution, Donald espoused the cause of the people but his two brothers sided with the British. Soon after all these passed out of the district and their whereabouts beame unknown.

Highlanders in America by MacLean, page 176, N. Y. Colonial Documents, page 629.

Duncan Campbell.

Duncan Campbell, of Inverawe, having raised a company for the Black Watch, then numbered the 43rd, was commissioned Cap-

tain, December 25, 1744; it became the 42nd in 1749; and in December, 1755, Captain Campbell was promoted to the Majority of the regiment. He died of the wounds received at Ticonderoga.

Stewart, I 279; II, Appendix No. II.

John Campbell of Duneavis.

John Campbell, of Duneaves, Perthshire, was originally a private in the Black Watch. In 1743, he was presented, with Gregor McGregor, to George II, as a specimen of the Highland soldier, and performed at St. James the broadsword exercise and that of the Lochaber axe, before his Majesty and a number of General officers. Each got a gratuity of a guinea, which they gave to the porter at the gate of the palace as they passed out. Mr. Campbell obtained an Ensigncy in 1745 for his bravery at the battle of Fontenoy; was promoted to be Captain-Lieutenant, 16th February, 1756, and landed in New York the following June. He was among the few resolute men who forced their way into the work at Ticonderoga, on the 8th of July, where he was killed.

John Campbell, Junior (of Glenlyon).

John Campbell, Junior, was commissioned Lieutenant of the 42nd on the 16th May, 1748; was wounded at Ticonderoga, 1758; was made Captain 26th July, 1760; and went on half-pay at the peace of 1763.

Stewart's Highlanders, I, 250, 279. N. Y. Col. Mss., p. 729, Vol. 10.

John Campbell of Strachur.

John Campbell of Strachur, in the Highlands of Scotland, entered the Army in June, 1745, as Lieutenant of Loudon's Highlanders; served through the Scotch Rebellion; made the Campaign in Flanders, 1747, and was promoted to a company on the 1st October of that year. At the peace of 1748, he went on Half-Pay and so remained until the 9th April, 1756, when he was appointed to the 42d Highlanders previous to the embarcation of that Regiment for America. He was wounded in the attack on Ticonderoga in 1758, and was appointed by General Amherst Major of the 17th Foot on the 11th July, 1759; was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army 1st February, 1762, and commanded his Regi-

ment in the expedition that year against Martinico and Havana. On the 1st May, 1773, he became Lieutenant-Colonel of the 57th or West Middlesex Foot, returned to America in 1776 with his Regiment at the breaking out of the Revolution; was appointed Maj. General 19th February, 1779, Colonel of his Regiment 2d November, 1780, and commanded the British Forces in West Florida, where after a gallant though ineffectual defence he was obliged to surrender Pensacola to the Spaniards 10th May, 1781. He became Lieutenant-General 28th September, 1787; General in the Army 26th January, 1797, and died in the fore part of 1806.

Brown, IV, 155, 159.
Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders, I, 295, 306, 359, 370; II. 5, app. iii; Knox Journal, I, 373; II, 401; Beatson's Naval and Mil. Mem. V, 50, 226-233; VI, 274-280; Army Lists. Wilson's Orderly Book, page 94.

Gordon Graham.

Gordon Graham of Drainie in the Highlands of Scotland, was appointed ensign in the 43d Highlanders in Oct. 25, 1739, and was made lieutenant June 24, 1743. He served in Flanders and shared in the defeat at Fontenoy in 1745, after which the Regiment returned home. In 1747 he made another campaign in Flanders. On August 7, 1747, he was appointed captain. In 1749 the number of the Regiment was changed to the 42d and Mr. Graham obtained a company in it 3d June, 1752, came to America in 1756, was at the surrender of Fort William Henry under Colonel Munro in 1757, and was wounded at Ticonderoga in 1758. The Major of the Regiment having been killed on that occasion, Captain Graham succeeded to the vacancy, July 17th, 1758, and made the campaign of 1759 and 1760 under Amherst. He next served in the West Indies in the expedition against Martinique and July 9, 1762, became Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment, which returned to New York, and in the year 1763, proceeded to the relief of Fort Pitt, defeating the Indians on the way in the Battle of Bushy Run. In December, 1770, he retired after 31 years of service in the Regiment. As his name does not appear in the army list of 1771 it is presumed that he died at this time.

Brown's Highland Clans IV, 139, 159. Beatson's Naval and Mil. Mem. II, 530. Wilson's Orderly Book, p. 14.

John Graham.

John Graham was the brother of Thomas; entered the 42nd regiment as Ensign and was promoted to a Lieutenancy 25th January, 1756; was wounded at Ticonderoga 1758; became Captain in February, 1762, and was again wounded at Bushy Run in 1763; shortly after which his company having been disbanded, he went on half pay. He rejoined the regiment 25th December, 1765, and is dropped in 1772, having attained the rank of field officer.

Stewart I, 359, Army Lists. N. Y. Col. Manuscripts, p. 729, Vol. 10.

Thomas Graham.

Thomas Graham, or Graeme, of Duchay, entered the 43rd, or Black Watch, as Ensign June 30, 1741; was promoted to a Lieutenancy August 6, 1746, and obtained a company February 15, 1756, shortly before the regiment, then the 42nd, came to America. He served in the several Campaigns on the northern lakes; was wounded at Ticonderoga in 1758; was again wounded at the batttle of Bushy Run, near Pittsburg, in 1763; served in the subsequent campaigns against the Indians, and embarked for Ireland in 1767. He succeeded Major Reid 31st March, 1770, and became Lieutenant-Colonel 12th December following. He retired from the army December, 1771, after 30 years of service.

Army Lists. Stewart. N. Y. Colonial Manuscripts, p. 729, Vol. 10.

Francis Grant.

Francis Grant, son of the Laird of Grant, and brother of Sir Ludovick Grant, of Grant, Scotland, was received from half-pay in Loudon's Regiment and was made ensign in the Black Watch Oct. 25, 1739. Nov. 5, 1739, he was made lieutenant; June 18, 1743, captain; and Oct. 3, 1745, he became major. A vacancy occurring in the lieutenant-colonelcy, in December, 1755, the men of the Regiment subscribed a sum of money among themselves to purchase the step for him, but it was not required; he had already obtained his promotion. He accompanied the Regiment to America in 1756 and was present at the bloody battle of Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, where he was wounded. In the following year he accompanied Amherst on his expedition, and in 1760 was in command of the van of the Army from Oswego to Montreal. In 1761 he

commanded the Army sent to the south to chastise the Cherokees. He served as Brigadier-General in the expedition against Martinico in 1762, and on the 19th of February of that year became colonel in the Army. On July 9, 1762, after twenty-three years of service in the Black Watch Regiment, he was removed and appointed to the command of the 90th Light Infantry. In August, 1762, he commanded the 4th Brigade at the siege of Havana and went on half pay at the peace of 1763. In November, 1768, he became colonel of the 63rd; Major-General in 1770; and Lieutenant-General in 1777. He died at the beginning of 1782 (Army Lists).

Lieut.-Gen. Grant's daughter was married to the Hon. and Rt. Rev. George Murray, fourth son of the Duke of Athol, and Bishop of St. David's.

Brown's Highland Clans, IV, 155.
Knox's Journal, II, 404, 410, 465.
Beatson N. and M., Mem. III, 363, 359.
Debrett's Peerage. Wilson's Orderly Book, p. 3.

James Grant.

James Grant, appointed Ensign Nov. 20, 1746; Lieutenant Jan. 22, 1756; Captain Dec. 26, 1760; removed Aug. 13, 1762, after 16 years of service in the Regiment, and was made Fort-Major Limerick. Died in 1778. He was wounded at Ticonderoga.

Stewart of Garth, Appendix.

William Grant.

William Grant, appointed Ensign, Oct. 1, 1745; Lieutenant, May 22, 1746; Captain, July 23, 1758; Major, Dec. 5, 1777; retired August, 1778, after 33 years of service with rank of Brevet Lieut.-Colonel. He was wounded at the battle of Ticonderoga.

Stewart of Garth, Appendix.

James Gray.

James Gray was taken from the Half-pay list and appointed Lieutenant in the 42nd Royal Highlanders 30th January, 1756. His name is omitted in the Army List of 1765.

Stewart's Highlanders. Wilson's Orderly Book, page 83.

Robert Gray.

Robert Gray, appointed Ensign June 6, 1745; Lieutenant June 9, 1747; Captain July 22, 1758. He was wounded at Ticonderoga.

Aug. 2, 1759, after 14 years of service in the Regiment, he was promoted to the 55th Regiment. He died in 1771 with rank of Lieut.-Colonel.

Stewart of Garth, Appendix.

Alexander McIntosh.

Alexander McIntosh was taken from half pay in 1756 and appointed Lieutenant in the 42nd. He was wounded at Ticonderoga, 1758, and again at Martinico in 1762, and was promoted to a company 24th July of the same year. He went on half pay in 1763 and was not again called on active service until 25th December, 1770, when he was appointed to the 10th regiment then serving in America. Captain McIntosh was killed at the storming of Fort Washington, 16th November, 1776.

Army Lists. Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs. N. Y. Colonial Manuscripts, p. 729, Vol. 10.

Norman McLeod.

Norman McLeod for many years Indian Commissioner at Niagara, entered the army originally as ensign of the 42d Highlanders in January, 1756, and was promoted to Lieutenancy in the 69th in June, 1761. On the reduction of the Regiment in 1763 he went on half pay and was sometime after appointed Commissioner at Niagara under Sir William Johnson. On the breaking out of the trouble in the Colonies, Mr. McLeod was recalled to active service as a Lieutenant in the 42nd, 31 Aug., 1775. He afterwards exchanged into the 71st in which he was Captain, 1779. He joined the expedition against Charleston, 1780, and was wounded in the campaign. In 1781 part of the regiment was employed at Virginia and surrendered with Cornwallis at Yorktown. Capt. McLeod's name continued on the Army list till 1783.

N. Y. Colonial Manuscripts by Broadhead.

John MacNeil.

John MacNeil was appointed ensign Aug. 6, 1742, lieutenant Oct. 10, 1745; Captain Dec. 16, 1752; Major July 9, 1762. He died at the siege of Havanna in 1762 after 20 years of service in the Regiment.

Stewart of Garth, Appendix.

David Milne.

David Mill, or Milne, received a commission as Lieutenant in this Corps 19th July, 1757; was wounded at Ticonderoga in 1758, and again at Martinique in 1762; retired from the army at the peace of 1763.

N. Y. Colonial Manuscripts, p. 729, Vol. 10.

James Murray.

James Murray, second son of Lord George Murray, by his marriage with Amelia Murray, heiress of Strowan and Glencarse, and grandson of the first Duke of Atholl, was born at Tullibardine on the 19th of March, 1734, and it is interesting to know that Lord John Murray, who was destined in after years to be his colonel, was called upon to be his godfather. A commission as Lieutenant in the Saxon Grenadier Guards was obtained for him in 1749, and he joined his regiment in 1751. He served against the forces of Frederick the Great until the Saxon Army capitulated at Pirna on the Elbe in October, 1756. He was released on parole and returned to Scotland in 1757 and on the nomination of his uncle, James, Duke of Atholl, was given a captain's commission in the Black Watch and was placed in command of one of the three additional companies then being raised for service in America. He reached New York in April, 1758, and commanded Captain Reid's company in the unsuccessful attack on Ticonderoga—his own company having been left in garrison at Fort Edward. He was wounded but was soon able to return to duty and took part in the successful expedition of 1759 to Lake Champlain. Toward the close of that year he was given command—by Lord John Murray's desire—of the Grenadier Company of the newly-raised 2nd Battalion, and with this battalion he served in the advance on Montreal in 1760 and in the capture of Martinique in 1762. He was wounded here and invalided home and was on sick leave for more than six years.* He rejoined the Black Watch in 1768 and in 1769 was appointed Captain-lieutenant in the 3rd Foot Guards, obtaining his promotion as Captain and Lieutenant-colonel the following year. In 1772 he was elected member of Parliment for Perthshire, a position which he held for twenty-two years. He was appointed Governor of Upnor Castle in 1775 and Fort William in 1780, but these were merely

nominal posts and did not interfere with his other duties. In 1776 he bought Strowan (originally the property of his mother), from his nephew, the fourth Duke of Atholl.

On the outbreak of the War of Independence, Col. Murray offered to raise a regiment of Highlanders for service in America, but this offer was refused, and in March, 1777, he was sent out to join the brigade of Guards under General Howe in New Jersey. He was with Lord Cornwallis at Quibbletown and presumably took part in the actions at Brandywine and Germantown in 1777. He spent the following winter in quarters at Philadelphia, and left America in the summer of 1778 and joined the Atholl Highlanders in Ireland in September of that year, of which regiment he was given the command. This regiment remained in Ireland during the war, at the conclusion of which it was disbanded. James Murray was appointed Lieutenant-colonel-commandant of the 78th Highlanders in 1783, but as he was already a general officer he never did any duty with this regiment. After 1783 General Murray resided a good deal at Strowan; in 1786 he was promoted full Colonel of the 78th (by that time the 72nd), and in 1793 he was made Lieutenant-general. In March, 1794, he felt himself obliged to resign his seat in Parliament owing to ill-health and a few days later—on the 19th of March—he died in London and was buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster.

Of Lord George Murray's three sons, General James seems to have been the one who most resembled his father. He had inherited the Jacobite General's sympathetic knowledge of Highland character, something of his pride, and the same affectionate disposition. And that he had at least a share of his father's determination and presence of mind is shown by two anecdotes which have been handed down with regard to him. One of these refers to his earlier days, and is to the effect that, having been attacked by a highwayman one night that he was driving over a heath near London, he leant out of the window of the chaise, "groped in the dark for the ears of his assailant's horse, "and with the brief but expressive exclamation, "Thereut's-" fired a shot which ended the highwayman's career. The other relates that during the Gordon Riots of 1780 Colonel James Murray was seated next Lord George Gordon in the House of Commons at the very moment at which the

mob threatened to break into the House. Colonel Murray with a soldier's instinct drew his sword, pointed it at Lord George, and notwithstanding that he was his cousin, declared his intention of running him through the body if a single one of the rioters should enter. His promptness saved the situation, but he had committed a breach of the privileges of the House and was ordered to apologize on bended knee to the Speaker. Colonel Murray made the required amende, but on rising from his knee took out his handkerchief and dusted it, remarking, "Damned dirty House this; sooner it's cleaned out the better."

Army Lists; Brown's Highl. Clans, IV, 159, 300, 304, 306. Wilson's Orderly Book, p. 67. Military History of Perthshire, p. 411-413.

Stewart of Garth gives the following in regard to General Murray's wound, received at the capture of Martinique: (page 126, Vol. 10.)

"The musket ball entered his left side, under the lower rib, passed up through the left lobe of the lung, (as ascertained after his death) crossed his chest, and, mounting up to his right shoulder,, lodged under the scapula. His case being considered desperate, the only object of the surgeon was to make his situation as easy as possible for the few hours they supposed he had to live; but, to the great suprise of all, he was on his legs in a few weeks, and, before he reached England, was quite recovered, or at least his health and appetite were restored. He was never afterwards, however, able to lie down; and during the thirty-two years of his subsequent life, he slept in an upright posture, supported in his bed by pillows.

Lord John Murray.

Lord John Murray, born on the 14th of April, 1711, was the eldest son of John, first Duke of Atholl, by his second wife, the Hon. Mary Ross, and half-brother to John, Marquess of Tullibardine, and Lord George Murray. He became an ensign in the 3rd Foot Guards (now the Scots Guards) in 1727, and a captain in the same regiment in 1738. Immediately after the mutiny of the regiment in 1743 he applied for the colonelcy in the 42nd or Black Watch, but he did not obtain the appointment he so greatly desired until two years later. In July, 1743, he was appointed first aide-de-camp to George II and was in attendance on the King in Germany at the close of the Dettingen campaign, but returned to England without having taken part in any engagements. In April, 1745, when at last gazetted colonel of the Black Watch, he proceeded to join his regiment in Flanders, but arrived too late for Fontenoy. He distinguished himself, however, during the subsequent retreat of the British army to Brussels, by his defence of a pass which the French attacked by night. For this service he was publicly thanked by the Duke of Cumberland. In 1745 he returned home with his regiment but in 1747 he was in the Netherlands tak-

From "A Military History of Perthshire"
LORD JOHN MURRAY, COLONEL THE BLACK WATCH 1745 TO 1787

ing part in the attempted relief of Hulst. After the surrender of the town by the Dutch Governor, Lord John commanded the rear-guard in the retreat to Welsharden, and shortly afterwards, having been ordered to take part in the defense of Bergen-op-Zoom, he was placed in command of the British troops in the lines there. At the close of operations he received a message of approbation from the King.

In 1755 he was promoted major-general, and in 1758 lieutenant-general, but although he offered his services more than once, he was not employed abroad during the Seven Years' War. He took the keenest interest, however, in all the exploits of his regiment and worked hard to raise a second battalion in 1758. Stewart of Garth tells us that when the men who had been disabled at Ticonderoga appeared before the Board at Chelsea to claim their pensions, Lord John went with them and explained their case in such a manner to the commissioners that they were all successful. He gave them money, got them a free passage to Perth, and offered a house and garden to all who chose to settle on his estate. General Stewart also describes how, when the 42nd at last returned from America in 1767, Lord John, who had been for weeks at Cork awaiting its arrival, marched into that town at its head.

Lord John was a great deal with the regiment while it was quartered in Ireland, and, according to Stewart of Garth, was "ever attentive to the interest of the officers and vigilant that their promotion should not be interrupted by ministerial or other influence." He was also "unremitting in his exertions to procure the appointment of good officers, and of officers who understood perfectly the peculiar dispositins and character of the men." For this reason he strenously endeavored to exclude all but members of Scots—and more especially Highland—families. He was equally particular that only Gaelic-speaking men and Protestants should be recruited for the ranks.

In spite of his military duties Lord John resided a good deal in the country—and not only at the home of his boyhood—for early in life he bought Pitnacree in Strathtay, and in later years he had also a house in Perth. He represented Perthshire in Parliament from 1734 to 1761. In 1758 he married Miss Dalton of Bannercross—a Derbyshire heiress, by whom he had one daughter. In

1770 he became a full general. His last military achievement was the raising in 1779 and 1780 (at his own expense) of another second battalion to the 42nd. This battalion so distinguished itself in India that in 1786 it was placed permanently on the establishment under the title of the 73rd Regiment. The veteran to whose patriotism it owed its existance died on the 26th of May, 1787, at the age of seventy-six, the senior officer in the Army.

Lord John made the most of such chances as occurred of distinguishing himself in the field, but those opportunities were small for he never served in any war but the Austrian Succession. It is therefore as the Colonel of the Black Watch that his name has survived—as a man who understood the Highland soldiers well enough to wish to command them at a time when to many that might have seemed a task of great difficulty—and who, having at last obtained the post he desired, completely identified himself with the interests of his men, and for upwards of half a century was the 'friend and supporter of every deserving officer and soldier in the regiment.''

Military History of Perthshire, page 382-384.

John Reid.

John Reid was the eldest son of Alexander Robertson of Straloch, but the head of the family had always been known as ''Baron Reid'' and the General and his younger brother, Alexander (who was also an officer in the 42nd), adopted the more distinctive surname early in life. He was born at Inverchroskie in Strathardle, on the 13th of February, 1721, and received his early education at Perth. Being destined for the law, he was afterwards sent to Edinburgh University. Nature, however, had intended him for a soldier, and in June, 1745, having recruited the necessary quota of men, he obtained a commission as lieutenant in Loudon's Highlanders. He was taken prisoner at Prestonpans the following September, but when released the following spring he rejoined his regiment and was able to render important service to the Government. From 1747 to 1748 he served in Flanders with Loudon's Highlanders and took part in the defence of Bergen-op-Zoom, but on the reduction of his regiment at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he was placed on half-pay. In 1751 he bought a captain-lieutenant's

commission in the Black Watch and in 1752 a commission as captain in the same regiment. Four years later on the outbreak of the war with France, he sailed with his regiment to America. He was not present at the first attack on Ticonderoga as he had been left behind sick at Albany, and his company was commanded in that desperate engagement by Captain James Murray. In 1759 Reid, by that time a major, took part in the second advance to Lake Champlain, which resulted in the surrender of Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and on him devolved the command of the 42nd during the greater part of the campaign of 1760 which ended with the capture of Montreal and the expulsion of the French from Canadą.

Reid remained in America with the 42nd until Dec., 1761, when he accompanied it to the West Indies. He served in the capture of Martinique and at the storming of Morne Tortenson, on Jan. 24, 1762, was in command of the 1st Battalion of his regiment. His battalion suffered heavy loss and he was wounded in two places, but recovered in time to take part in the expedition against Havana of that same year. After the surrender of Cuba he returned to America. In 1764 Reid acted as second-in-command of Colonel Bouquet's arduous but successful expedition against the Indians on the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers. In the following year we hear of him fitting out an expedition which was to be sent to the Illinois country under the command of Captain Thomas Stirling of the 42nd.

About 1760 Reid married an American lady of Scots descent, Susanna Alexander, daughter of James Alexander, surveyor-general of New York and New Jersey. She owned property on Otter Creek in what is now the State of Vermont, which was added to and improved by her husband with the result that at the end of ten years Reid owned "about thirty-five thousand acres of very valuable land" near Crown Point and had "obtained from the Governor and Council of New York a warrant of survey for fifteen thousand more," which he intended to "erect" into a manor.

In 1767 the Royal Highland Regiment left America for Ireland and Reid presumably accompanied it. In 1770 Reid retired on half-pay, intending no doubt to settle down to the enjoyment and improvement of his American estates. However, in 1772 his tenants were expelled by the people of Bennington "on the pretence

of having claim to that country under the Government of New Hampshire, notwithstanding that the King in Council had, ten years before, decreed Connecticut River to be the Eastern Boundary of New York.'' In 1775 war broke out with the American colonists, and though his case finally came before the Commissioners for American Claims, the only compensation awarded him was a trifling allowance for mills he had erected and for fees he had paid for surveys. In May, 1778, his father's estate, Straloch, passed under the hammer as he was unable to pay the mortgages and his son could give him no help.

Notwithstanding that he was a comparatively poor man, in 1779-1780 Reid raised at his own expense a regiment of foot, of which he was appointed colonel. This was called the 95th and was disbanded in 1783. In 1781 Reid was promoted major-general, and in 1793 a lieutenant-general. He was appointed colonel of the 88th Regiment (Connaught Rangers) in November, 1794, and became a general in 1798. In 1803, when an invasion was hourly expected, Reid, in response to an order that all general officers not employed on the staff should transmit their addresses to the Adjutant-General, wrote that though in the eighty-second years of his age, ''and very deaf and infirm,'' he was still ready to use his feeble arm in defence of his country. He died in the Haymarket on the 6th of February, 1807, and was buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster.

The General would probably have had but little property to dispose of at his death, had he not in 1796 succeeded to a valuable estate of some four or five thousand acres in Nova Scotia, which was left to him by his cousin, Gen. John Small, ''as a mark of.... respect....and attachment to the preservation of his name and representation for succeeding ages.'' Reid's daughter had made a marriage of which he disapproved, she had no children, and his only brother had died in 1762 during the siege of Havana. It was probably these circumstances that induced him to realize the property in Nova Scotia and at the time of his death he was worth some £52,000. This entire fortune went after the death of his daughter to the University of Edinburgh to found a musical professorship. He also left directions that a concert should be given annually on or about his birthday to commence with several pieces of his own composition, among the first of which is that of the ''Garb of Old

Gaul,'' a composition written by Sir Charles Erskine, but set to music by Reid while major of the 42nd, and which has ever since been a regimental march.

Reid also composed several military marches and was esteemed the best gentleman player on the German flute in England. It may safely be predicted that as long as the University exists this old Perthshire soldier of the 18th century will be remembered as one of its benefactors.

N. Y. Documentary History IV.
Military History of Perthshire, pp. 387-395.

John Small.

John Small was the third son of Patrick Small, who married Magdalen Robertson, sister of Alexander Robertson, the father of General John Reed. Reid and Small were thus not only neighbors and brother-officers, but first cousins, and were evidently on terms of close friendship. Born in Strathardle, Atholl, Scotland, in 1730, Small, like many of his countrymen of that date, began his military career with the Scots Brigade in Holland, being appointed a 2nd lieutenant in the Earl of Drumlanrig's Regiment when it was raised for service of the States-General in 1747. How long he remained abroad is unknown but it is probable that he returned to England when the regiment was reduced in 1752. He did not, however, obtain a commission in the British army until four years later, when he was apointed lieutenant in the 42nd, just prior to its departure for America. So far as is known, Small took part in all the campaigns in which his regiment was engaged from 1756 to 1763. He fought at Ticonderoga in 1758, served with General Amherst's successful expedition to Lake Champlain in the following year, and took part in the operations which completed the conquest of Canada in 1760. After the surrender of Montreal he was sent in charge of French prisoners to New York, and we learn from a brother officer that General Amherst had great confidence in him, and frequently employed him ''on particular services.'' Two years later he served in the capture of Martinique and Havanna and obtained his promotion as captain.

At the peace of 1763 Small was placed on half-pay, but, according to General Stewart, he was almost immediately put on the full-pay list of the North British Fusiliers (21st) and when in

1767 the Black Watch left for Europe, most of the men of that regiment who had volunteered to stay in America joined the Fusiliers in order to serve under Small, who was "deservedly popular" with them. Small, however, cannot have served long with the 21st, for in the same year in which the Black Watch left America he was appointed "major of brigade" to the forces in North America. It was probably during the interval between the Seven Years' War and the war with the Americans that he began to acquire the property in Nova Scotia, part of which he afterwards bequeathed to his cousin, John Reid. We have some indication that during this period he interested himself in local politics and formed the friendship of at least one American which was of value to him later.

Small served throughout the War of Independence though but rare glimpses are obtained of him. He was present as a brigade-major at the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1777, and in the course of that day his life was saved by the American General Putnam, who, seeing Small standing alone at a time when all around him had fallen, struck up the barrels of his men's muskets to save his life. Shortly after this, Small raised the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Highland Regiment and was appointed major-commandant. In 1778 the regiment was numbered the 84th and in 1780 he was promoted lieutenant-colonel-commandant of his battalion. He is said to have joined Sir Henry Clinton at New York in 1779, but it is more probable that he was stationed for the most part in Nova Scotia. In March, 1783, Small and his battalion were at Fort Edward, New York, and in the following autumn the battalion was disbanded at Windsor, Nova Scotia, where many of the men settled and formed the present town of Douglas.

Small, once more on half-pay, returned home and in 1790 was promoted colonel and three years later was appointed lieutenant governor of Guernsey. In October, 1794, he became major-general and on the 17th of March, 1796, he died in Guernsey and was buried in the church of St. Peter Port.

General Stewart of Garth wrote of General John Small that "No chief of former days ever more fairly secured the attachment of his clan, and no chief, certainly, ever deserved it better. With an enthusiastic and almost romantic love of his country and countrymen, it seemed as if the principal object of his life had been to

serve them, and promote prosperity. Equally brave in leading them in the field, and kind, just, and conciliating in quarters, they would have indeed been ungrateful if they had regarded him otherwise than as they did. There was not an instance of desertion in his battalion."

Stewart II, 143. Military Hist. of Perthshire, pp. 396-399.

James Stewart of Urrard.

James Stewart of Urrard, obtained a company in the 42nd, July 18th, 1757. He was wounded at Ticonderoga, 1758. He sold out after the peace.

Stewart I, 306, 359. N. Y. Col. MSS., p. 729, Vol. 10.

Thomas Stirling.

Thomas Stirling, second son of Sir Henry Stirling, of Ardock, was born October 8, 1731. He began his military career in the Dutch service, being given a commission as ensign in the 1st Battalion of Col. Marjoribanks' Regiment on the 30th of September, 1747, and was probably placed on half-pay when the establishment of the Scots Brigade was reduced in 1752. On the 24th of July, 1757, having been nominated by James, Duke of Atholl, and having raised the requisite number of men, he was gazetted captain of one of the three companies added to the 42nd in that year. In November, 1757, he sailed for America, where he served with his regiment in the campaigns of the ensuing years, though he was not present at the first attack on Ticonderoga, owing to the fact that the new companies had been left behind to garrison Fort Edward. He took part in the capture of Martinique in 1762 and was wounded but was able to serve in the capture of Havana later in that year. He returned with his regiment to America and in August, 1765, was sent in command of a company to take possession of Fort de Chartres on the Mississippi. After holding this fort that winter and spring, he returned with his detachment to the regiment in June, 1766. The following year the 42nd left America and for upwards of eight years was quartered in Ireland, after which it was for a short time in Scotland. In 1770 Stirling was gazetted major of the regiment, and in 1771 lieutenant-Colonel-commandant. Hostilities broke out with the Americans in 1775, and Stirling, having

in five months raised the strength of his regiment from 350 men to 1,200, returned with it in the following spring to America, where he commanded it continuously for three years during the war. He took part in the engagement at Brooklyn, the attack on Fort Washington, the expedition to Pennsylvania, battle of Monmouth, and others. During 1778-9 he was stationed at or near New York. In June, 1779, he accompanied a force under General Mathews through New Jersey in an attempt to rally the supposed loyalists of that state. This was unsuccessful and ended in the destruction of the town of Springfield. General Stirling was so severely wounded while leading the attack that he could take no further part in the war. His thigh was broken and fearing to be rendered incapable of further service he refused to have it amputated. He recovered and was invalided home but he does not appear after this to have been ever again fit for active duty. In 1782 he was promoted major-general and appointed colonel of the 71st Foot, but his regiment was disbanded the following year. His services were rewarded with a baronetcy and in 1790, he became colonel of the 41st Regiment. In 1796 he was promoted lieutenant-general, and in 1799 he succeeded his brother in the baronetcy of Ardock. He attained the rank of general in 1801 and died unmarried on the 9th of May, 1808.

Kenneth Tolmie.

Kenneth Tolmie was commissioned a lieutenant in the 42nd Highlanders, 23rd January, 1756, and promoted to the Command of a Company 27th July, 1760. His name is dropped after the Peace of 1763.

Wilson's Orderly Book, p. 166.

Alexander Turnbull.

Alexander Turnbull of Stracathro, appointed ensign June 3, 1752; lieutenant Sept. 27, 1756; captain Aug. 14, 1762. After 11 years of service, he went on half-pay in 1763; full pay of the 32d Foot. He died in 1804 with rank of major.

Stewart of Garth, Appendix.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SMALL

GENERAL SIR THOMAS STIRLING OF ARDOCH AND STEDWAN, BART.

GENERAL JOHN REID

From "A Military History of Perthshire"

OFFICERS IN THE BLACK WATCH 1758-59

K

ORIGINAL REGIMENTAL LIST OF THE BLACK WATCH.

From A Military History of Perthshire, pages 51.52.

	Commission dated.
No. 1 *Company.*	
Colonel and Captain John, Earl of Crawford	25 Oct., 1739
Captain-Lieutenant Duncan Mackfarland	25 Oct., 1739
Ensign Gilbert Stewart of Kincraigie	29 Oct., 1739
No. 2 *Company.*	
Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain Sir Robert Munro, Bart., of Foulis	25 Oct. 1739
Lieutenant Paul Macferson	26 Oct., 1739
Ensign Archibald Macknab, younger son of the Laird of Macnab	31 Oct., 1739
No. 3 *Company.*	
Major and Captain George Grant	25 Oct., 1739
Lieutenant John Mackenzie of Rencraig (? Kincraig)	28 Oct., 1739
Ensign Collin Campbell	1 Nov., 1739
No. 4 *Company.*	
Captain Collin Campbell, yr., of Monzie	25 Oct., 1739
Lieutenant Alexander Macdonald	29 Oct., 1739
Ensign James Campbell of Glenfalloch	25 Oct., 1739
No. 5 *Company.*	
Captain James Colquhoun of Luss	26 Oct., 1739
Lieutenant George Ramsay	30 Oct., 1739
Ensign James Campbell of Stronslanie[1]	3 Nov., 1739
No. 6 *Company.*	
Captain John Campbell of Carrick	27 Oct., 1739
Lieutenant John Maclean of Kingairloch	27 Oct., 1739
Ensign Dougall Stewart (of Appin?)	26 Oct., 1739
No. 7 *Company.*	
Captain Collin Campbell of Balliemore	28 Oct., 1739
Lieutenant Malcom Frazer, son of Culduthel[2]	31 Oct., 1739
Ensign Dougall Stewart	25 Oct., 1739

1. Stewart of Garth calls him Dougal Campbell, but he appears as James in his commission.

2. It is not stated to which companies Lieutenants Malcolm Fraser and Francis Grant belonged. No other lieutenants are mentioned for Balliemore and Newmore; they have therefore been assigned respectively to them.

No. 8 *Company.*

Captain George Munro of Culcairn, brother of Foulis	29 Oct., 1739
Lieutenant Lewis Grant of Auchterblair	25 Oct., 1739
Ensign John Menzies of Comrie	27 Oct., 1739

No. 9 *Company.*

Captain Dougal Campbell of Craignish	30 Oct., 1739
Lieutenant John Mackneil	2 Nov., 1739
Ensign Gordon Graham of Draines[3]	30 Oct., 1739

No. 10 *Company.*

Captain John Monro of Newmore	10 May, 1740
Lieutenant Francis Grant, son of the Laird of Grant[4]	1 Nov., 1739
Ensign Edward Carrick	28 Oct., 1739
Surgeon George Monro	17 Feb., 1740
Quarter Master John Forbes	25 Mar., 1740
Chaplain Hon. Gideon Murray	25 Mar., 1740
Adjutant John Lindsay[5]	25 Mar., 1740

3. i. e. Drynie. A younger son of the Laird.
4. See note to Lieutenant Malcolm Fraser.
5. Garth gives the adjutant as being Gilbert Stewart (presumably the ensign to the Colonel's Company). He probably acted in this capacity until John Lindsay was gazetted to the regiment.

L

OFFICERS OF THE 42ND ROYAL HIGHLAND REGIMENT AS COPIED FROM THE BRITISH ARMY LIST, PUBLISHED 20TH JUNE, 1759.

Col. Lord Jno. Murray, Lt. Gen.

Lt. Col. Francis Grant.	Capt. Thomas Stirling.
Major Gordon Graham.	Capt. Francis McLean.
Capt. John Reid.	Capt. Archibald Campbell.
Capt. John McNeil.	Capt. Alexander St. Clair.
Capt. Allan Campbell.	Capt. William Murray.
Capt. Thomas Graeme.	Capt. John Stuart.
Capt. James Abercrombie.	Capt. Alexander Reid.
Capt. John Campbell.	Capt. William Grant.
Capt. James Stewart.	Capt. David Haldane.
Capt. James Murray.	Capt. Lieut. Robert Gray.

Lieut. John Campbell.
Lieut. Kenneth Tolme.
Lieut. James Grant.
Lieut. John Graham.
Lieut. Alex. Turnbull.
Lieut. Alex. Campbell.
Lieut. Alex. McIntosh.
Lieut. James Gray.
Lieut. John Small.
Lieut. Arch. Campbell, Sen.
Lieut. James Campbell.
Lieut. Archibald Lamont.
Lieut. David Mills.
Lieut. Simon Blair.
Lieut. David Barclay.
Lieut. Archibald Campbell, Jr.
Lieut. Alex. Mackay.
Lieut. Robert Menzies.
Lieut. Patrick Balneavis.
Lieut. John Campbell, Sen.
Lieut. Alex. McLean.
Lieut. George Sinclair.
Lieut. John Murray.
Liut. Gordon Clunes.
Lieut. James Fraser.
Lieut. John Robertson.
Lieut. John Grant.
Lieut. George Leslie.
Lieut. Duncan Campbell.
Lieut. Adam Stuart.
Lieut. Donald Campbell.
Lieut. George Grant.
Lieut. James McIntosh.

Lieut. Robert Robertson.
Lieut. John Smith.
Lieut. Peter Grant.
Lieut. Alex. Farquharson.
Lieut. John Campbell, Jr.
Lieut. George Sinclair.
Ensign Elbert Herring.
Ensign William Brown.
Ensign Thomas Fletcher.
Ensign Alex. Donaldson.
Ensign William McIntosh.
Ensign Patrick Sinclair.
Ensign Archibald Campbell, Jun
Ensign John Gregor.
Ensign Lewis Grant.
Ensign Archibald Campbell, Sen
Ensign John Graham.
Ensign Allan Grant.
Ensign John Leith.
Ensign Charles Menzies.
Ensign Archibald McNab.
Ensign John Chas. St. Clair.
Ensign John Gordon.
Ensign Neil McLean.
Ensign Thomas Cunison.
Sergt. Phineas McPherson.
Chaplain James Stewart.
Adj. James Grant.
Adj. Alex. McLean.
Quarter Master John Graham.
Quarter Master Adam Stewart.
Surgeon David Hepburn.
Surgeon Robt. Drummond.

Agt., Mr. Drummond, Spring Garden.

The following corrections were interlined in ink in the above Army List of 1759, which was found in the British Museum:
Capt. John Reid was made Major, Aug. 5, 1759.
Capt. John Campbell, removed to the 17th.
Capt. David Haldane, removed to a Regiment at Jamaica.
Lieut. Alexander McLean, made captain of corps of Highlanders.
Lieut. George Sinclair, dead.
Lieut. George Sinclair, removed to Crawford's Regiment.
Ensign Thomas Fletcher, made lieutenant June 1, 1759.
Ensign William McIntosh, removed to Keith's Corps.
Sergt. Phineas McPherson, made ensign June 1, 1759.
Lauchlan Johnson, made chaplain 20th August, 1759, in place of James Stewart.
Alexander Donaldson, made adjutant 20th March, 1759, in place of Alexander McLean.

M

REFERENCES TO THE BLACK WATCH IN THE 1759 CAMPAIGN TAKEN FROM "COMMISSARY WILSON'S ORDERLY BOOK."

Albany, 22 May, 1759. Two companies of the Royal Highland Regiment are also to receive batteaux and load them with provision and baggage. A sergeant and 12 men of the Rhode Island Regiment are to relieve a party of the Royal Highland Regiment at the Half-Way House on the way to Schenectady; they are to march tomorrow morning and carry six days' provision with them.

Albany, 23d May, 1759. Three captains of the Royal Highlanders summoned among others to a general Court Martial, of which Col. Francis Grant was President, to set tomorrow at the Town House in Albany at 3 o'clock to try all prisoners that may be brought before them.

Albany, 26th May, 1759. An officer and 25 men of the Royal Highland Regiment with a week's provision to be sent this afternoon to the Widow McGinnes House to protect settlement; one Company of the Royal Highland Regiment to march tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock; they will take their tents and camp equipage with them, for which a wagon will be allowed on sending to Col. Bradstreet for it; the officer commanding that company to call upon the General this night. The General Court Martial of which Col. Grant is President to meet again tomorrow at 8 o'clock.

Albany, 31st May, 1759. The Royal Highland Regiment to march tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock to Halfmoon, where they will take the artillery under their charge and escort the same to Fort Edward.

Fort Edward, 6th June, 1759. Lieut. Col. Robinson will mark out the Camp tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock that the Regiments may take up their ground as they arrive; the Regiments to encamp ** * Royal Highlanders on the right. A Serj. and 16 men of ye Royal Highlanders to take the General's Guard.

Fort Edward, 7th June, 1759. The Regiments are not to change their encampment until the ground be quite dry.

Fort Edward, 8th June, 1759. The Regiments to change their encampment this day at 12 o'clock.

Fort Edward, 9th June, 1759. Field Officer for the Picquit tomorrow, Major Graham. The Light Infantry of the Highland Regiment is to practice fireing ball tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock, near the Royal Block House on the other side of the river.

The Royal Highland Regiment to furnish 2 captains, 6 subs., and 200 men * * * ; this detachment to take batteaux tomorrow morning at day break. The Royal Highland Regiment to take 20 batteaux, and 60 of the 200 men with arms to serve as a covering party. The whole to take provisions for tomorrow with them; they are to proceed to Col. Haviland's Camp, opposite to Fort Miller, where the commanding officer will apply to Col. Haviland who will order the batteaux to be immediately loaded, that the whole party may return to Fort Edward without loss of time.

Fort Edward, 10th June, 1759. Field Officer for the Picquit this night Major (Gordon) Graham, for tomorrow Major (Allen) Campbell, Colonel of the day, Col. (Francis) Grant. Two captains of the Royal Highlanders to sit with others in General Court Martial tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock, to try such prisoners as are on the Provost Guard. The Royal Highlanders and Montgomery's Regiments to send as many men this afternoon at 4 o'clock as are necessary to clean the ground where the Light Infantry is to encamp. They will receive axes on applying to the store-keeper in the Fort, which they will return when they have finished that work.

Fort Edward, 11th June, 1759. Colo. of the day, Col. Grant. Field Officer of the Picquits, Major Campbell.

Fort Edward, 12th June, 1759. Block Houses to be relieved tomorrow by the Line * * * the one joining the east side of the Bridge by 1 Sub., 2 Serjts., 2 Corpls. and 24 men of the Royal Highlanders; the one in the front of the Right of the Royal, one Serjt., one Corpl. and 10 men of the Royal Highlanders.

Fort Edward, 13th June, 1759. The Royal Highland Regiment to strick their tents tomorrow at Revallie Beating. The Royal Highlanders posted in their Block Houses as per ordered of yesterday, to be relieved immediately.

Fort Edward, 17th June. The First Battalion Massachusetts to strike their tents at Revallie Beating and march half an hour after to the Halfway Brook where the commanding officer will put himself under the command of Col. Grant.

Fort Edward, 19th June, 1759. The Royal Highlanders will furnish one Sub. and 30 men towards the working party required tomorrow to repair the roads.

Fort Edward, 20th June. Capt. Campbell of the Royal Highland Grenediers is appointed Major to the Battalion of Grenediers for the Campaign.

Lake George, 22d June, 1759. The Royal Highlanders to receive one day's fresh beef tomorrow.

Lake George, 24th June. Field Officer for tomorrow, Major Graham.

Lake George, 26th June, 1759. The Royal Highlanders to receive 7 days' provisions tomorrow.

Lake George, 27th June. Generals Guard tomorrow, Royal Highlanders. 2 Companies of Grenediers with 2 Companies of Light Infantry ordered this morning with as many Rangers and Indians as Maj. Rogers can furnish, the whole commanded by Maj. Campbell, to march tomorrow two hours before daybreak by the same route Col. Haviland took; which post Capt. Johnson will show, and to remain there whilst the boats are fishing. They are to take one day's provisions and to go as light as possible as they are not only a covering party to the boats, but to attack any body of the enemy they may find.

Lake George, 5th July, 1759. A General Court Martial to set tomorow morning at the President's Tent at 8 o'clock for the trial of a man suspected of robbery * * * Major Graham and two captains of the Royal Highlanders to attend.

Lake George 8th July, 1759. The Royal Highlanders will take the Gen's Guard tomorrow half an hour after 4.

Lake George, 11th July, 1759. Capt. John Campbell of the Royal Highlanders is appointed Major in the late Forbes, and is to be obeyed as such. Royal Highlanders to receive 35 batteaux. Oars and whatever else belongs to the batteaux will be delivered at the same time. Each batteaux will carry 12 barrels of flour or 9 of pork when ordered to load, and it is supposed will have about 20 men or a few more in each battoe.

Lake George, 12th July. A General Court Martial of the Regulars to be held to morrow morning at 6 o'clock. Col. Grant President, Major John Campbell to attend.

Lake George, 13th July. Colonel of the Day tomorrow, Col. Grant. Field Officer tomorrow night, Major Graham. Generals Guard tomorrow, Royal Highlanders. The General Court Martial of which Col. Grant was President, is dissolved. Royal Highlanders to receive a proportion of flour for five days which they are get baked tomorrow and keep.

Lake George, 19th July, 1759. The Royal Highlanders one of the Regiments appointed to sit in general Court Martial tomorrow at 6 o'clock. The Regiments to load their batteaux tomorrow morning beginning at 5 o'clock in the following manner, Montgomery's Pork, Royal Highlanders, Flour, * * * two regiments to load at a time, one flour and one pork, and to be allowed an hour for loading, and when loaded to return to their stations.

Lake George, 20th July, 1759. For the day this day, Regulars, Col. Grant. On landing the Col. Grant to take the command of the late Forbes' Brigade.

Camp near Ticonderoga, 22d July. For the Picquit tomorrow night, Major Graham.

Camp before Ticonderoga, 23d July, 1759. Collo. of the day tomorow, Collo. Grant. Field Officer of the Picquits this night, Major Graham.

Camp at Ticonderoga, 24th July, 1759. Serjt. Murray of the Royal Highland Regiment is appointed to oversee people making Fasciens, and to keep an account of the number made.

Camp at Ticonderoga, 25th July, 1759. The following carpenters *** James Frazer, George McDougall, James Frazer, John McColme, John Robinson, James Cumming, and James McDonald of the Royal Highlanders to be at the sawmills tomorrow at 5 o'clock and if Capt. Loreing should not be there they will receive their directions from Brigadier Ruggles.

The Royal Highland Regiment to draw tomorrow early two days bisquit and two days pork, bisquit in lieu of flour, which completes them to the 28th inclusive.

Ticonderoga, 26th July, 1759. Adjutant for the day tomorrow Royal Highlands.

Ticonderoga, 28th July, 1759. A General Court Martial of the line to be held at the President's tent at 8 o'clock tomorrow morning. Col. Grant, President, two Majors and ten Captains, two of whom were from the Royal Highlanders.

Ticonderoga, 29th July, 1759. The ovens to be given for the use of the troops in the following manner:— * * * No. 2 to the Inniskilling and Royal Highlanders. No bakers but such as those Corps imploy to bake in any of those ovens. The Royal Highland Regiment to strick their tents and march immediately to the Landing Place, and they will send their tents and baggage in batteaux.

Ticonderoga, 1st August, 1759. As a number of shoes are come up, intended for the use of the Army, and will be delivered to them at the prime cost in England, which three shillings and six pence per pair. The Regiments may receive in the following manner and proportion, or as many of that proportion as they like to take by applying to Mr. Tucker, agent to Mr. Kilby at the Landing Place. Royal Highlanders 366.

Capt. Reid is appointed Major to the Royal Highland Regiment.

Crown Point, 5th August, 1759. Collo. of the day tomorrow Regulars Collo. Grant; Field officer for the Picquits tomorrow night Maj. Reid.

Crown Point, 6th August, 1759. Adjutant of the day tomorrow Royal Highlanders. As twenty-four barrels of Spruce beer is come to the fort the corps may send for it immediately in the following proportions * * * Royal Highlanders, three barrels.

Crown Point, 7th August, 1759. Corporal Sinclair of the Highlanders and Parceloo of the Inniskilling Regiment with 16 leabrours used to digging to attend Lieut. Gray tomorrow at 5 o'clock; the evening gun is the signal for the working party to leave of work.

Crown Point, 8th August, 1759. The Regulars to receive 4 days provisions tomorrow of pork, beginning at Revallie Beating by Forbes followed by Royal Highlanders, etc. It is concluded that they have their bread from Ticonderoga as was ordered.

Crown Point, 10th August, 1759. Ens. Gregor of the Royal Highlanders * * * are appointed overseers of the works that are carrying on at the fort. They will attend Lieut. Col. Eyre tomor-

row morning at 5 o'clock and follow such directions as they shall receive from him.

Crown Point, 11th August, 1759. Collo. of the day tomorrow. Collo. Grant. For the building of the fort the following quarriers * * * five of the Royal Highlanders * * * to attend Lieut. Col. Eyre tomorrow morning at the hour of work, and are to continue daily to work as quarriers.

Crown Point, 12th August, 1759. Adjutant of the Day tomorrow, Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 14th August, 1759. Field officer for the work tomorrow, Major Reid.

Crown Point, 15th August, 1759. The following Surgeons Mates are to join the Regiments and serve as Mates in room of Officers serving as such; Mr. Goldthwat an additional Mate in the Royal Highlanders to be put on the establishment of Forbe's, Mr. Carter to the Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 16th August, 1759. The following sawiers are to attend Lieut. Col. Eyre tomorrow at 5 o'clock: * * * Royal Highlanders, Robert Kennedy, John McFarling and Robert Bain. The following masons are likewise to attend Lieut. Col. Eyre tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock: * * * Royal Highlanders, Dougal McKeafter and John Stewart. The above artificers are to work daily and to follow such directions as they shall receive from Lieut. Col. Eyre.

Crown Point, 17th August, 1759. Collo. of the day tomorrow. Collo. Grant. The following masons to attend Lieut. Col. Eyre tomorrow morning at five o'clock: * * * Royal Highlanders Angus McDonald and William Milligan.

Crown Point, 18th August, 1759. Adjutant of the day tomorrow, Royal Highlandes.

Crown Point, 24th Aug., 1759. Adjutant of the day, tomorrow, Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 27th August, 1759. The following soldiers to attend Lieut. Eyre tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock and to take their directions from him: Royal Highlanders, John Fraser, John McElvore, James Bruce, Allex'r Sutherland.

Crown Point, 28th Aug. Field Officer of the work tomorrow-Major Reid.

Crown Point, 30 August, 1759. Adjutant of the day, Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 1st Sept. Collo. of the day, tomorrow, Collo. Grant.

Crown Point, 3d September, 1759. JohnMcNeal, Grenadier in Royal Highland Regiment, * * * to attend Lieut. Col. Eyre this day at 12 o'clock and to follow such directions as he shall give.

Crown Point, 4th Sept., 1759. Collo. of the day, tomorrow, Collo. Grant. Field Officer for the work, Major Reid. The men of the Royal Highland Regiment who have been employed in making baskets will be paid for the same by the Quartermaster's applying to Mr. Gray this afternoon after the work is over. The Regiments to receive tomorrow morning two pounds of fresh meat and one pound of rice for the number of men set opposite the names of each corps, and the Regiments are to apply said fresh beef and rice entirely for the use of the sick. Royal Highlanders 22.

Crown Point, 5th Sept., 1759. Field Officer for the works tomorrow, Major Reid. Adjutant of the day, tomorrow, Royal Highlanders. Allex'r Forbes of the Royal Highlanders, mason, to accompany Lieut. Col. Eyre tomorrow and follow such directions as he shall give.

Crown Point, 6th Sept. Serjt. Clark of the Royal Highlanders to be one of the four sergeants to attend the works daily and to receive directions from Lieut. Col. Eyre.

Crown Point, 7th Sept. For the day, tomorrow, Collo. Grant.

Crown Point, 11th Sept. Adjutant of the day tomorrow, Royal Highlanders. A general court martial of the Regulars to sit tomorrow at the President's Tent at 8 o'clock; Collo. Foster,, President, Major John Campbell, Major Reid, * * one captain of the Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 12th Sept. A detachment of 100 Grenadiers, 30 of the Light Infantry of Regiments, non-commissioned officers in proportion to be commanded by a captain of the Grenadiers and 2 Subalterns of each Corps to parade tomorrow at Revallie beating on the left of the front of the light infantry and to take 30 batteaux to Ticonderoga where he is to apply to the Commissary and load 15 with 30 barrels of flour in each batteaux, the other 15 with 16 barrels of pork each. The Royal Highland Regiment to furnish

the batteaux and the captain commanding the party will see them this night that they may be ready to set off at Revallie beating and to return as soon as they are loaded.

Crown Point, 15th Sept., 1759. For the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant. Field Officer for the Picquits this night, Regulars Major Reid. Field officer for the works tomorrow, Major John Campbell.

Crown Point, 16th Sept., 1759. Field Officer for the works tomorrow, Major Reid.

Crown Point, 17th Sept. Adjutant of the day tomorrow, Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 18th Sept., 1759. For the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant.

Crown Point, 21st Sept., 1759. For the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant. For the Picquits this night, Major Reid. Field Officer for the works tomorrow, Major John Campbell.

Crown Point, 23d Sept., 1759. Adjutant of the day tomorrow, Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 25th Sept. Lieut. Tolmey of the Royal Highlanders is appointed Overseer for the work on the fort and to receive his directions from Lieut. Col. Eyre.

Crown Point, 26th Sept., 1759. Field officer for the Picquits this night, Major John Campbell; tomorrow night, Major Reid.

Crown Point, 27th Sept., 1759. For the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant. Field Officer for the Picquits this night, Major Reid.

Crown Point, 29th Sept. Adjutant for the day tomorrow, Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 30th Sept., 1759. Collo. of the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant.

Crown Point, 2d Oct., 1759. Field Officer for the Picquits this night, Major John Campbell; tomorrow night, Major Reid.

Crown Point, 3d October. For the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant. Field Officer for the Picquits this night, Major Reid. Field Officer for the works tomorrow, John Campbell. A General Court martial of the Regulars to sit at the President's tent tomorrow at 9 o'clock * * * two captains of the Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 5th Oct., 1759. Adjutant of the day tomorrow, Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 6th Oct., 1759. For the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant. The regular regiments to give in their cartridges that are

damaged this day to the artillery and to receive as much powder, paper, ball and twine as will compleat their ammunition. The Royal Highlanders 475.

Crown Point, 7th October. The Regiments to prepare their batteaux to the following numbers and to have their sails fixed according to patern Col. Haviland approved of; * * * Royal Highlanders 24, * * *

Crown Point, 8th October. Royal Highlanders are to take two batteaux more than what were ordered yesterday.

Crown Point, 9th October. For the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant. Field Officer for Picquits this night, Major Reid. The undermentioned Corps are to send a batteaux each at Retreat beating to Ticonderoga to receive tomorrow morning the following number of loaves weighing six pounds and a half each; they are to pay to the person Gen. Lyman appoints to receive the money the following sums being one penny sterling for baking seven pounds of flour: Royal Highlanders 460 loaves, 1: 7; 8 Sterling. * * *

The Royal Highlanders are to leave a Subaltern Officer each, exclusive of officers employed as overseers at the King's Works, with three Sergeants, three Corp'ls each with the men that are left behind; when the Regiments march, the officers and men of each corps will encamp on the Center of the encampment of the Corps * * * and a sentry to be kept in the encampment that nothing may be spoiled or taken away during the absence of the Regiment. The Regiments are to give the following numbers for the Brig and Sloop and will send seamen if they have them: For the Brig, * * Royal Highlanders 14 men.

Crown Point, 11th Oct., 1759. Adjutant of the day tomorrow, Royal Highlanders.

On Lake Shamplaine, 12th Oct., 1759. Collo. for tomorrow, Collo. Grant.

Ligonier Bay, 14th Oct., 1759. Field Officer for the Picquit this night, Major John Campbell; tomorrow night, Major Reid.

Lake Shamplaine, 15th Oct., 1759. For the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant. Field Officer for the Picquits this night, Major Reid.

Camp at Schuylers Island, 18th Oct., 1759. For the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant.

Crown Point, 22nd Oct., 1759. Adjutant of the day tomorrow, Royal Highlanders.

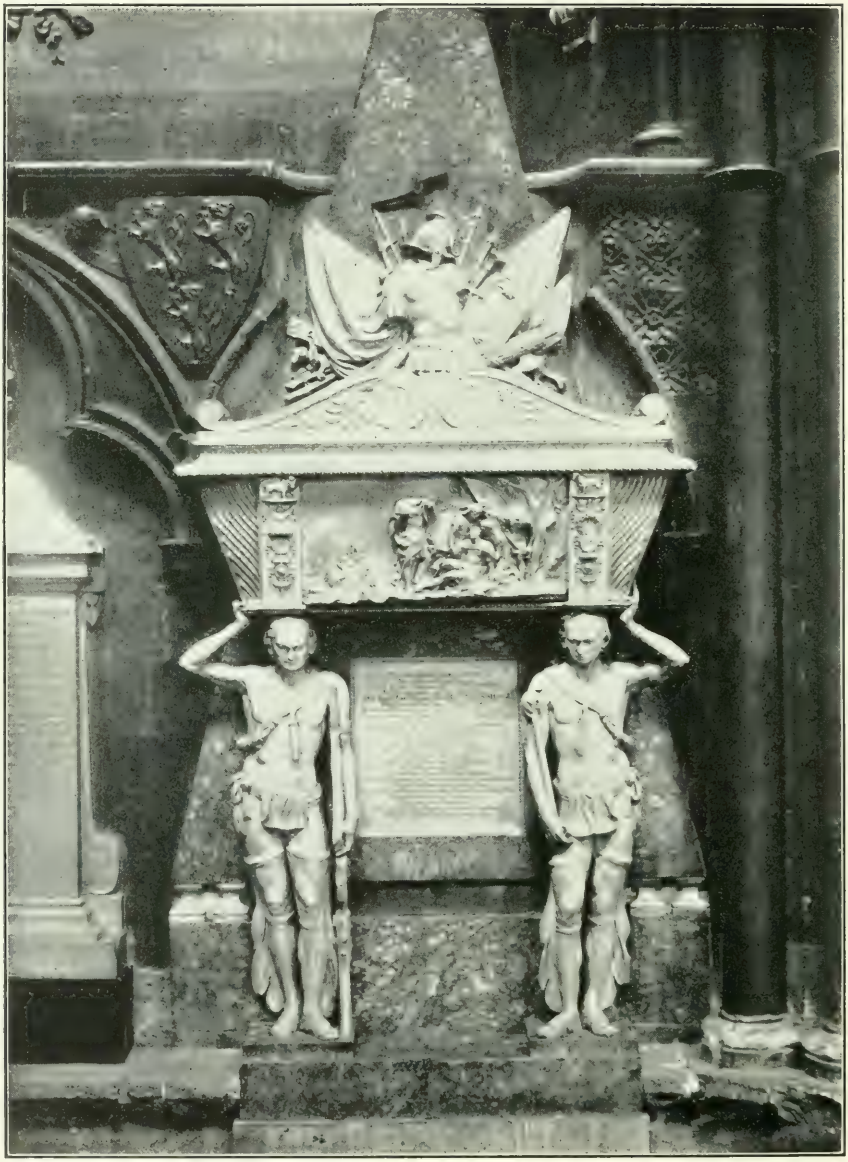


Photo by Head Verger. Especially for this Association Work

MONUMENT TO LIEUT. COLONEL ROGER TOWNSHEND IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

(The Bayonet on Monument Found on Battle Field of Ticonderoga and placed on Memorial by Dean Stanley)

Crown Point, 25th October. 22 men of the Royal Highlanders are to be sent to the Hospital at Fort Edward. * * The surgeon of the Royal Highlanders is to attend them to Fort Edward, a Corporal and 6 men of the Royal Highlanders with one batteau * * * are to convey the sick to the Sawmills. where the officer will leave the batteau with Lieut. Col. Miller and march the sick to the Landing Place.

Crown Point, 27th Oct., 1759. For the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant. Field Officer for the Picquits this night, Major Reid.

Crown Point, 28th Oct., 1759. Adjutant for the day tomorrow, Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 30th October. Officer for the day, tomorrow, Collo. Grant. A General Court martial to be held at the President's Tent tomorrow at 9 o'clock to try all such prisoners as shall be brought before them; Col. Grant, President, * * * One Captain of the Royal Highlanders.

Crown Point, 31st Oct., 1759. Field Officer for the Picquits this night, Major Reid. The General Court martial of which Collo. Grant was President is dissolved; the Prisoners of the Royal Highland Regiment is acquitted.

Crown Point, 1st Nov., 1759. For the day tomorrow, Collo. Grant.

Crown Point, 3d Nov., 1759. For the Picquits tomorrow night, Major John Campbell; for the works tomorrow, Major John Campbell; Adjutant of the day tomorrow, Royal Highlanders.

N

COLONEL ROGER TOWNSHEND.

Roger Townshend, fifth son of Charles Viscount Townshend, was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel 1st Feb., 1758, and served as Adjutant-General in the Expedition against Louisbourg, and Deputy Adjutant- General in this Campaign with Rank of Colonel. He was killed in the Trenches before Ticonderoga by a cannon ball on the 25th July, 1759, and his remains were transmitted to Albany for interment. His spirit and military knowledge justly entitled him to the esteem of every soldier; and accordingly the loss of him was universally lamented.

Knox I, 360, 389, 401, 403.
Wilson's Orderly Book, page 77

Supplement to the New York Mercury, Tuesday, July 31, 1759.

Extract from a letter dated Albany, July 29, 1759.

"The same evening (July 27), an Express arrived from Ticonderoga, with an account of Colonel Townshend being killed, in reconnoitering the Fort, by a cannon ball.

* * * * * *

Yesterday about 12 o'clock, Colonel Townshend's corpse arrived here, and was decently interred."

The following is a copy of the inscription on the monument to Col. Townshend in Westminster Abbey:

"This Monument was erected
By a disconsolate Parent
The Lady Viscountess Townshend
To the Memory of her Fifth Son
The Hon'ble Lieut. Colonel Roger Townshend
who was killed by a Cannon Ball
on the 25th of July, 1759, in the 28th year of his age
as he was reconnoitring ye French lines at Ticonderoga
In North America
From the Parent the Brother and the Friend
His sociable and amiable manners
His enterprizing Bravery
And the Integrity of his Heart
May claim the tribute of affliction
Yet Stranger weep not
For tho' premature His Death
His life was glorious
Enrolling Him with the names
of those Immortal Statesmen and Commanders
Whose wisdom and Intrepidity
In the course of this Comprehensive and Successful War
Have extended the Commerce
And upheld the Majesty of these Kingdoms
Beyond the idea of any former age."

The following is an extract from a letter from the head verger of Westminster Abbey:

"I should like to draw your attention to the broken bayonet in the upper part of the Townsend monument. It is a relic of the struggle between the French and English in

North America and it comes from Ticonderoga and may have been used in that particular 'march to Ticonderoga, where Col. Townshend was killed. It was given to Dean Stanley when in America and he fixed it on the monument as he did the wreath of leaves on the monument of Major Andre.

Lord Eversley, who when H. M. first Commissioner of Works was the Rt. Hon. J. G. Shaw Lefevre—is much struck by the Townshend inscription, especially the latter part, which, he has told me, is worthy of Edmund Burke and which I know he would like to attribute to that great orator and statesman."

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Recollections of a Military Life. Sergeant Morris, 73rd.
Military Reminiscences (Polygar Campaigns). Colonel Welsh.
Five Years in Kaffirland (Second War). Mrs. Ward.
Campaigning in Kaffirland.
The 5th Regiment Royal Scots of Canada. Captain Chambers.
History of the British Army. J. W. Fortescue.
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Reminiscences of a Veteran. Alexander Robb, Late 42nd.

P

SETTLEMENTS OF THE SCOTCH HIGHLANDERS IN WASHINGTON COUNTY.

The final success of the sons of Captain Lauchlan Campbell in obtaining redress inspired others who had belonged to the Lauchlan Campbell New York colony to petition for a similar response for their hardships and losses. In 1764 they succeeded in obtaining a grant of 47,450 acres located in the present township of Argyle and a small part of Fort Edward and Greenwich. The original plan included a stately street from the banks of the Hudson River on the east through the tract upon which each family should have a town lot that he might not only enjoy the protection of near neighbors but also have the companionship of which the Highlander is so particularly fond. The plan, however, made no allowance for the rugged nature of the country and consequently the magnificent street was located over hills whose proportions prevented its use as a public highway while some of the lots were uninhabitable.

The following is an alphabetical list of the grantees and further information as to the location of the lots can be obtained from "Highlanders in America," by MacLean, pages 184 to 186.

Anderson, Mary.
Baine, Mary.
Belton, Mary.
Campbell, Catherine.
Campbell, Mary.
Campbell, Elizabeth.
Campbell, Archibald.
Campbell, Duncan.
Campbell, Alexander.
Campbell, Malcolm.
Campbell, Marian.
Campbell, George.
Campbell, James.
Campbell, Duncan, Jr.
Campbell, John.
Campbell, Duncan, Sr.
Campbell, Robert, Jr.
Campbell, Ann.
Cargill, Elizabeth.
Cargill, Jane.
Cargill, James.
Cargill, John.
Cargyle, Margaret.
Caldwell, Elizabeth.
Clark, Daniel.
Christie, Alexander.
Clark, William.
Fraser, Elizabeth.
Fraser, William.
Ferguson, Jenette.
Gillaspie, Neil.
Gilchrist, John.
Gilchrist, Alexander.
Graham, William.
Graham, Mary.
Graham, Angus.
Gilchrist, Margaret.
Gillis, James.
Gilchrist, Duncan.
Hammel, Mary.
Hunter, William.
Johnson, Daniel.
Lindsey, David.
Lindsey, Duncan.
Livingston, Isabella.
McAnthony, Ann.
McAlpine, Dougall.
McArthur, Duncan.
McAllister, Charles.
McArthur, Patrick.
McAlpine, Robert.
McAllister, Barbara.
McAllister, Margaret.
McArthur, Charles.
McArthur, John.
McArthur, Alexander.
McCore, Archibald.
McCullom, Archibald.
McCarter, John.
McCarter, Archibald.
McCoy, Edward.
McCore, John.
McCarter, Catherine.
McDonald, Allan.
McDuffie, Ann.
McDougall, Donald.
McDuffie, Duncan.
McDuffie, John.
McDonald, James.
McDonald, John.
McDougall, Duncan.
McDougall, Agnes.
McDuffie, Donald.
McDougall, John.
McDougall, Hugh.
McDougall, Archibald.
McDougall, Angus.
McDougall, Alex.
McDuffie, Malcolm.
McDonald, Neil.
McDonald, Alex.
McEwen, John.
McEwen, Archibald.
McEwen, Marian.
McEwen, Hannah.
McEachron, Neil.

McEloroy, Hugh.
McFadden, Neil.
McFadden, Duncan.
McGowne, Mary.
McGowne, Archibald.
McGowan, John.
McGuire, Duncan.
McGowne, John, Jr.
McGowan, John, Sr.
McGuire, John.
McIlfender, Catherine.
McIntyre, John.
McIntyre, Donald.
McKerwan, Duncan.
McKallor, Dougall.
McKenzie, Florence.
McKenzie, John.
McKallor, Edward.
McKenzie, George.
McLean, Catherine.
McMullin, Donald.
McNeil, Archibald.
McNeil, Roger.
McNeil, Morgan.
McNeil, Elizabeth.
McNachten, Alexander.
McLeod, Mary.
McVarick, Florence.
Montgomery, Alex.
Montgomery, Hugh.
Nevin, Archibald.
Nutt, James.
Nevin, Rachael.
Ray, Elizabeth.
Reid, Duncan.
Reed, Roger.
Reid, John.
Shaw, Catherine.
Shaw, Duncan.
Shaw, Donald.
Shaw, John, Sr.
Shaw, Neil.
Torrey, John.
Thompson, Eleanor.
Thompson, Dougall.
Taylor, Duncan.
Torry, Mary.
Torrey, David.
Widrow, Jane.

For several years after 1764 the colony on the east and what is now Hebron township was augmented by a number of discharged Highland soldiers, mostly from Montgomery's Regiment, who settled on both sides of the line of the township. They had in all probability been attracted to this spot partly by the settlement of the colony of Captain Lachlan Campbell and partly by that of the Scotch-Irish at New Perth (Salem). These additional settlers took up their claims owing to a proclamation made by the king in October, 1763, offering land in America without fees, to all such officers and soldiers who had served on that continent and who desired to establish their homes there.

Nothing shows more clearly than this proclamation the lofty position of an officer in the British service at that time as compared with a private. A field officer received four thousand acres; a captain three thousand; a lieutenant, or other subaltern commissioned officer, two thousand; a non-commissioned officer, whether sergeant or corporal, dropped to two hundred acres, while the poor private

was put off with fifty acres. Fifty acres of wild land, on the hillsides of Washington County was not an extravagant reward for seven years' service amidst all the dangers and horrors of French and Indian warfare.

Among the early buildings in New Perth (Salem), was a log church, said to be the first religious place of worship erected between Albany and Canada.

N. Y. Col. Manuscripts by O'Callaghan, page 904, Vol. 7, records the fact that James Eddington, a reduced subaltern of the 42d was granted, 22 Oct., 1766, 2,000 acres on the west side of the Connecticut River, in the Co. of Cumberland, and page 905, Vol. 7, states that George Bremmer, late of 42d, was granted, 13 Feb'y, 1767, 200 acres east of the Hudson River, in the County of Albany.

The Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly for October, 1910, Vol. XIX, No. 4, has the following:

"(Atholl) Reference to the comprehensive "Gazettier" of the world, shows that the town of Athol here mentioned, Athol, Mass., is the only place in America so named (with the single exception of a small town in Northern New York). The only other locality so named is the district in the north of Scotland, embracing about 450 square miles, elevated and very picturesque, Blair-Atholl, a fertile vale on the Garry and the forest of Atholl containing some 100,000 acres are stocked with red deer and game. It gives the title of Duke to the head of the Murray family, it chief proprietor, whose seat is at "Blair Castle" near Mts. Benygloe and Gairn Gower."

This is of two fold interest for as we have already seen there was close connection between the Black Watch of 1758-9 and the Murray family of Blair Atholl and as Athol in New York State was settled in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century by Camerons, McEwans, Murrays and McMullens from Blair Atholl it is quite possible that at least some of the settlers first saw the country while serving with the Black Watch in the French and Indian War.

Q

TICONDEROGA.

Ticonderoga, familiar as the name of the historic fortress at Lake George, was written by Sir William Johnson, in 1756, Tionderogue and Ticonderoro, and in grant of lands in 1760, "near the fort at Ticonderoga." Gov. Colden wrote Ticontarogen, and an Iroquoian sachem is credited with Decariaderoga. Interpretations are almost as numerous as orthographies. The most generally quoted is from Spofford's Gazetteer: "Ticonderoga, from Tsindrosie, or Cheonderoga, signifying 'brawling water', and the French name, Carillon, signifying 'a chime of bells,' were both suggested by the rapids upon the outlet of Lake George." The French name may have been so suggested, but neither Tsindrosie or Cheonderoga means "brawling water." The latter is probably an orthography of Teonderoga. Ticonderoga as now written, is from Te or Ti, "dual," two; Kaniatare, "lake," and -ogen, "intervallum, divisionem" (Bruyas), the combination meaning, literally, "Between two lakes." Horatio Hale wrote me of one of the forms "Dekariaderage, in modern orothography, Tekaniataroken, from which Ticonderoga, means, simply 'Between two lakes.' It is derived from Tioken, 'between,' and Kaniatara, 'lake.' Its composition illustrates a peculiar idiom of the Iroquoian language. Tioken when combined with a noun, is split in two, so to speak, and the noun inserted. Thus in combining Tioken with Oneonte, 'mountain,' we have Ti-ononte-oken, 'Between two mountains,' which was the name of one of the Mohawk castles—sometimes written Theonondiogo. In like manner, Kaniatare, 'lake,' thus compounded, yields Te-kaniatare-oken, 'Between two lakes.' In the Huron dialect Kaniatare is contracted to Yontare or Ontare, from which, with io or iyo, 'great,' we get Ontario (pronounced Ontareeyo), 'Great lake,' which combined with Tioken, becomes Tionteroken, which would seem to be the original of Colden's Tieronderoga."

("Indian Geographical Names," by E. M. Ruttenber, page 71. Vol. VI, New York State Historical Assoeiation.)

R

TESTIMONIALS TO THE BLACK WATCH.

The Virginia Gazette, July 30, 1767, published an article from which the following extracts have been taken:

"Last Sunday evening, the Royal Highland Regiment embarked from Philadelphia for Ireland, which regiment, since its arrival in America, had been distinguished for having undergone most amazing fatigues, made long and frequent marches through an unhospitable country, bearing excessive heat and severe cold with alacrity and cheerfulness, frequently encamping in deep snow, such as those who inhabit the interior parts of this province do not see, and which only those who inhabit the most northern parts of Europe can have any idea of, continually exposed in camp and on their marches to the alarms of a savage enemy, who, in all their attempts, were forced to fly. * * * And, in a particular manner, the freemen of this and the neighboring provinces have most sincerely to thank them for that resolution and bravery with which they, under Colonel Boquet, and a small number of Royal Americans, defeated the enemy, and ensured to us peace and security from a savage foe; and, along with our blessings for these benefits, they have our thanks for that decorum in behavior which they maintained during their stay in this city, giving an example that the most amiable behavior in civil life is no way inconsistent with the character of the good soldier; and for their loyalty, fidelity, and orderly behavior, they have every wish of the people for health, honor, and a pleasant voyage."

Extract from speech by the elder Pitt in vindication of the employment of Highland Regiments, of which the Black Watch was the first raised of the eighty-six during the four wars between 1739 and 1815.

"I sought for merit wherever it was to be found; it is my boast that I was the first Minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifice of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the State in the war before the last. These men in the last war were brought to combat on your side, they served with fidelity as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world."

S

COPY OF ALL REFERENCES TO THE BLACK WATCH OF THE TICONDEROGA PERIOD TO BE FOUND IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE DOMINION OF CANADA AT OTTAWA.

I am indebted for this Memorandum to Arthur Doughty Litt. D., Archivist of the Dominion of Canada.

1758. March 29, New York. Abercrombie to Haldimand (?) Plan of operations settled at Home. Southern Operations.

. . . . . .

Corps, Blakeney's, Lord John Murray's, &c.

B.6 p.35

1756. New York. M.204-2 p.397 Shirley to Fox

. . . . . .

Just arrived from Albany Major Abercrombie and General Webb arrived one on the 25th of June and the other the next morning with great part of Otway's Regiment and with all the Highland Regiments, &c.

. . . . . .

In a letter from Abercrombie to London dated Albany, 3d Aug., 1756.

. . . . . .

Col. Schuyler's New Jersey Regiment and four North Carolina Companies are barely sufficient to Garrison Oswego and keep the communication open to Schenectady and there remains the 48th Regiment together with Otway's and the Highlanders to Garrison Fort William Henry, &c., &c.

M. 205-1 p.

1756. June 21. New York. James Abercrombie to———On the 15th April sailed from Plymouth and arrived here on the 16th June with General Otway's and Lord John Murray's Regiments, &c. B.205-1 p.8

1756. Aug. 29. Albany. Loudon to Fox.

. . . . . .

Though I was informed that the whole Transports with the Highland Recruits were arrived, I heard this morning that there were still five missing, and that those that are come were very short of Provisions, they were victualled only for two months, &c., &c. M.205-1 p.240

1756. Sept. 4. Boston. Shirley to Loudon.

. . . . . .

Upon this I beg leave to observe to your Lordship, that it appearing from Col. Webb's letter to me, dated from New York the 9th June, that Otway's and the Highland Regiments might be daily expected there (Oswego).

. . . . . .

What confirms me in the matter is, that your Lordship told me, when I had the honour to wait on you, when the day you set from New York, being the 26th July that the Garrison at Oswego was so weak, that the 44th Regiment was to be sent to strengthen it and at the same time your Lordship mentioned, that you thought 900 men, by which I suppose your Lordship meant Otway's and the Highland Regiments were but a few to cover the country.

. . . . . .

M.205-2 p.306.

1756. Nov. 22. Albany. Loudon to Fox. . . . . .

. . . . . .

The 42nd Regiment, I quarter at Schenectady, from whence they take the posts, on the Mohawk river, &c.

. . . . . .

M.207-1 p.2

Photo by L. DeF. Cone, Ticonderoga

THE BLACK WATCH MEMORIAL AT TICONDEROGA

Two Views of 5th Royal Highlanders of Canada who Attended Ceremonies of Laying Corner Stone and of Unveiling of Memorial Tablet

1757. Loudon to Pitt .....

April 25. As the Garrison (Fort Henry) had been
New York. troubled with the scurvy I had ordered Lieutenant General Otway's Regiment to relieve them, and Colonel Monro met the account of the attack being made on the Fort on his march; he immediately left his baggage, and made all possible dispatch to Fort Edward, where he received the account of their being retired. Colonels Gage and Burton followed him directly with the remains of the 44th and 46th Regiments and the Highlanders were set in motion from Schenectady. They all marched without Tents, and lay in the woods, &c.

.....

We have on that river (Mohawk), at Schenectady, and up to the German Flats, the Highland Regiment, upwards of a thousand men, &c.

..... M.207-1. p.174.

1758. Loudon to Pitt .....

Feb'y 14. ..... storming of
New York. Fort Herkemer and I threw in part of the 42nd Regiment of Highlanders into Schenectady, that there might be no want of numbers for this service.

M.208... p.2.

Division of Manuscripts,
February 22, 1911.

T

THE BLACK WATCH MEMORIAL AT TICONDEROGA.

The genesis of this memorial was an address made by the late Joseph Cook at the services held in front of the boulder erected to the heroes of Ticonderoga, Academy Park, Ticonderoga, N. Y., July 31, 1899, in which he made this remark: "There ought to be a memorial to the Black Watch composed largely of Scotch Highlanders who, with the Colonials charged Montcalm's entrenchments for eight consecutive hours."

The writer, who was secretary of the Ticonderoga Historical Society at that time, had the honor of being the medium through which this chance remark became an enduring memorial of brick and stone. He was unsuccessful, however, until Mr. David Williams, then publisher of "The Iron Age," a summer resident of Ticonderoga at Rogers Rock, came to his assistance. Mr. Andrew Carnegie was the generous donor of the funds to build this memorial. The grants were in two amounts, the first gift for a public library with the usual provisions, and the second gift, with no limitations, with which to build an historical addition to the library, thus making it both a public library and historical building.

The laying of the corner stone, Oct. 4, 1905, was made the occasion for one of the greatest celebrations Ticonderoga has ever seen. The Pipe band of the 5th Royal Scots of Canada, Highlanders, now the 5th Royal Highlanders of Canada, from Montreal, and the Regimental band and a Battalion of the 5th Infantry, U. S. A., from Plattsburgh, were the principal features of the parade. It was particularly appropriate that the Royal Scots should be present, as they are allied to the Black Watch and wear the same uniform. It was also an education to the thousands of spectators, few, if any of whom had ever seen Highlanders in full regimentals marching to the music of bagpipes. After the exercises of the day, the Royal Scots visited the ruins of old Fort Ticonderoga, about two miles from the village and the picture of a body of Highlanders with their scarlet coats and tartan kilts marching up the green slopes of the old ramparts, with the setting sun behind them, was one never to be forgotten and which probably had not occurred since the Revolution.

The officers of the present Black Watch Regiment, then stationed at Fort George, Scotland, being advised of the Memorial, sent the following letter to the secretary of the Ticonderoga Historical Society:

"Dear Sir: Your letter 9th Sept., 1905, on the subject of a Black Watch Memorial, has been perused by the Commanding Officer and the Officers of the 1st battalion of The Black Watch, formerly called the 42nd Royal Highland Regiment, and it was also submitted and discussed at the Annual Gathering of Black Watch Officers—past and present—recently held in Edinburgh. I am

At "Allargue

MAJOR D. L. WILSON-FARQUHARSON, D. S. O.
Representative of the Black Watch, at Unveiling of Memorial Tablet, Ticonderoga July 4, 1906

authorized to inform you that all Ranks of the Regiment are proud to know that the Ticonderoga Historical Society has decided to appropriate an alcove in the Ticonderoga Free Public Library as a memorial to the 42nd Regiment, to commemorate their services in the engagement before Fort Ticonderoga on July 8, 1758. The suggestion contained in your letter, to the effect that Officers of the Regiment might be disposed to erect a tablet on a wall of the Alcove to the memory of the officers and men of the 42nd who were killed or wounded in the action has met with the unanimous approval of those to whose notice it has been brought, and I am to inform you that such a Tablet will gladly be provided and that the work of executing the Tablet will be entrusted to a London firm as soon as a suitable design has been decided upon. In order to assist us in choosing a suitable form of tablet I shall be much obliged if you can favor me with a rough plan of the alcove, the dimensions of the actual wall on which the Tablet will rest, and an idea of the general style of the building.

I shall be glad to hear from you as soon as you can conveniently supply the information for which I have asked.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

D. L. Wilson Farquharson,
Major The Black Watch.

The exercises for the unveiling of the memorial tablet July 4, 1906, was made the occasion for another grand celebration at which the full bag-pipe band of the 5th Royal Highlanders of Canada and a company of 50 men from the same regiment, making a total of 75 Highlanders, were a feature of the parade. Major D. L. Wilson Farquharson of the Black Watch, came over from Scotland to unveil the tablet in behalf of the Regiment. It was accepted by Frank B. Wickes of Ticonderoga for the Ticonderoga Historical Society. The address of the day was delivered by Senator Edgar T. Brackett of Saratoga Springs.

List of Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers and Partial List of Men Composing Ticonderoga Detachment, 5th Royal Highlanders of Canada, July 4th, 1906.

Capt. A. F. Gault.
Capt. V. C. Buchanan.
Capt. C. M. Monsarrat.
Capt. J. Muir, Quartermaster.
Sergt. Major D. A. Bethune.
Q. M. Sergt. B. Howard.
Col. Sergt. J. H. A. Mackay.
Staff Sergt. T. A. Gardiner.
Staff Sergt. J. Phillips.
Sergt. C. Denman.
Sergt. P. Forde.
Sergt. T. Mitchell.
Bugle Sergt. P. Broadhurst.
Drum Sergt. F. W. Flood.
Drum Major G. Foley.
Pipe Major D. Manson.
Sergt. J. MacLean.
Corp. P. W. MacFarlane.
Corp. H. Massey.
Corp. N. Manson.
Corp. P. Sutton.

Privates.

J. Bayley.
F. H. Benson.
Walsh.
A. E. Smith.
S. Tapster.
Scobie.
P. Roache.
J. Cockburn.
A. Bishop.
Jeffries.
J. A. McLean.
W. Marsh.
J. Ferguson.
J. Corbett.
J. Palmer.
C. Myers.
C. Black.
J. Stuart.
J. Rooney.
Dean.
A. Reid.
A. Williams.
A. Betts.
D. Reid.
L. Pickering.

Pipers.

R. Morrison.
M. McLeod.
J. Ferrier.
D. McArthur.
D. Brash.
J. Husband.
B. Milligan.

Drummers.

J. Ryan.
Gore.
Kemp.
Jones.

NECROLOGY.

William Holloway Bailey

Died Oct. 5, 1908

William Holloway Bailey, who was a pioneer in the brass and copper tube industry in this Country died Oct. 5th at his home, 200 West 57th Street, in his seventy-fifth year. He had been connected with the American Tube Works of Boston for fifty-eight years, and was the New York representative of the Company for the last fifty years. Mr. Bailey was the oldest member of the First Panel of the Sheriff's Jury for the County of New York, and a member of the Union League for forty years. He was also connected with The Engineers' Club, Down Town Association, American Society of Mechanical Engineers, Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers, New York Yacht Club, Geographical Society, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museum of Natural History, and the Academy of Design."

Samuel Douglas Cornell

Died April 7, 1910

Samuel Douglas Cornell was born in Glenville, Conn., December 2, 1839. When he was ten years old his family moved to Buffalo, where he resided the rest of his life. For years he was one of the most prominent business men of that city and had long been esteemed as one of her most eminent citizens. His father was engaged in the manufacture of white lead and the son early took an interest in that industry, following in his father's footsteps and becoming one of the leading white lead manufacturers of the country. He was graduated from Hobart College in 1860 with the degree of B. A. and three years later was given an M. A. by his Alma Mater. He was a trustee of Hobart College at the time of his death, an office he had held for many years, and was a permanent, conspicuous figure at commencements where he was to be seen as

marshall of the parade. His affection for his college found a fitting tribute in his will by a bequest of $5,000. He was a member of the Theta Delta Chi Fraternity.

For several years he was representative for the Burroughs Gold Mining Co., making frequent visits to Colorado in the old stage coach days. It was after these experiences he settled in Buffalo with his father, the firm becoming S. G. Cornell & Son. He followed this business in which he was very successful financially, until October, 1887, when the new lead trust, of which he was a founder, amalgamated the enterprise and he retired permanently from active business life. He continued to live in Buffalo, maintaining also a superb summer home at Coburg, Ontario, where he delighted to entertain his friends—his hospitality becoming famed among his circle of acquaintances.

As a young man he entered the National Guard as a private in the Seventy-fourth Regiment, serving about twenty-five years, holding every office in line and field except second-lieutenant. He became colonel and was made adjutant-general, chief of staff Fourth Brigade, as a special mark of esteem.

Mr. Cornell was married January 29, 1862, to Miss Lydia Hadfield, of Buffalo. His wife died about five years ago and he is survived by three children—Dr. Peter Cornell, manager of the Star Theatre; Douglas Cornell, and Miss Lydia H. Cornell.

Eli Wheeler Fairchild

Died Nov. 15, 1909.

Eli Wheeler Fairchild, one of the oldest residents of Monticello, died Nov. 15, 1909, of pneumonia. Although he had been in poor health during the summer, no one thought him dangerously ill and his death came as a shock to the community. It was the closing up of an honorable life work with no dishonor to cloud it nor regrets to harass the last moments.

He was the only child of Eli and Clarissa Fairchild, and was born Nov. 16, 1824. His early education was at Monticello, Phinney School for Boys at Newburgh, Aurora Academy on Cayuga Lake, and at Waterloo, Seneca County. He graduated from Union College, A. B., in 1846, and A. M. in 1849. He was a member of the Sigma Phi fraternity and was made a Phi Beta Kappa at

graduation. In 1848 he was admitted to the bar and at the time of his death was the oldest lawyer of the Sullivan County bar.

On February 21, 1869, Mr. Fairchild married Miss Mary C. Doll of Ellenville, who survives him. Their children are Mrs. F. A. Torsch and Mrs. Wilbur Morrison, of Baltimore, Md.; John Fairchild of Washington, D. C.; and Miss Agnes Fairchild of Monticello.

Mr. Fairchild was a director of the Monticello and Port Jervis Railroad and was a vestryman of the Episcopal Church of Monticello.

Charles Wells Hayes

Died Nov. 29, 1908

Rev. Charles W. Hayes, S. T. D., warden of the DeLancey Divinity School, and one of the best known clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Western New York, died of apoplexy at his home, No. 60 Park Place, Geneva, N. Y., Nov. 29, 1908.

He was born at Canandaigua, N. Y., March 19, 1828, and was the son of Pliny and Eliza Stout (Wells) Hayes. He graduated from Hobart College, receiving the degree of B. A. in 1849, M. A. 1852, and S. T. D. 1888. In 1854 he married Frances Elizabeth Gladding, who died in 1889. There were four children, Mary Frances, who died in 1906; Margaret Alice, Katherine Elizabeth, and Henry Stanley Wells, M. D., now of Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. Hayes was ordained deacon in 1852 by Bishop Chase, ordained priest in 1853 by Bishop DeLancey. He was rector in the Diocese of Western New York, 1852-67; chaplain to the Bishop of Maine, and canon of Cathedral of Portland, 1867-80; rector Westfield, N. Y., 1880-93; Phelps, 1893-1902; professor DeLancey Divinity School and librarian, 1893-1902. He was also secretary and registrar of diocese; deputy General Convention and Federate Council, Standing Committee; trustee and vice-president of De-Veaux College; examining chaplain, Ecclesiastical Court; historian Hobart College, etc. He was corresponding member of historical societies of Maine, Wisconsin, Buffalo and Rochester, New England Historic Genealogy Society, Sons of the Revolution of New York, Phi Beta Kappa. He was warden and librarian of the DeLancey Divinity School from 1901 until his death.

He was the author of "The New Parish Register," 1859; works in American history, biography, genealogy, music, architecture, etc., 1859-1902; Sermons; Diocese of Western New York, History and Recollections, 1904.

Grenville Howland Ingalsbe

February 26th, 1910

Grenville Howland Ingalsbe, the only son and child of Grenville Mellen and Franc Groesbeck Ingalsbe, was born in Sandy Hill (now Hudson Falls) New York, on November 8th, 1878. His paternal ancestors were from New England, sturdy, reliant and masterful, while on the maternal side, Quaker blood from the Providence Plantations, mingled with that of the Groesbecks, early settlers in Schaghticoke, from Holland. He was of the fifth generation from three revolutionary ancestors in the Groesbeck line, and from Samuel Cook, and of the sixth generation from Captain Ebenezer Ingalsbe, soldiers of the revolution, the latter being one of the minute men at Lexington. Ebenezer Ingalsbe was a veteran fighter in the Indian and Colonial Wars, closing his service to the King with Sir William Johnson and Lyman at Lake George in 1755, with Amherst and Wolfe at Louisburgh in 1758, with Amherst at Ticonderoga in 1759, and with Haviland at Montreal and the surrender of Canada in 1760.

Mr. Ingalsbe prepared for college at the Glens Falls Academy and at Phillips Exeter, and graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1902. When he entered Harvard he had a remarkably well balanced physique. Severe attacks of diphtheria and congestion of the lungs, in his Sophomore and Junior years, were followed by a final breakdown in his Senior year, from which he never recovered.

He had chosen the law as his profession and upon his graduation commenced its study in his father's office, with slight prospect, however, that he could pursue it as his life work. A little later he went to Saranac where he spent nearly two years. Then making his home with his parents, he took charge of the family homestead at South Hartford. Though entirely outside any work he had ever planned to do, he devoted himself to it with great enthusiasm. He engaged in dairy and tillage husbandry; became a

breeder of high grade Jersey cattle and Berkshire swine, and introduced new methods of tillage and a systematized rotation of crops. He loved the work and achieved signal success. Later, with associates, he became interested in the coal business in Sandy Hill, and in a lumber syndicate operating in Vermont.

Thus, though handicapped by the constant advance of an incurable disease, he led a busy life to the end. His struggle for living was so earnest, and his will so indomitable, that he was confined to the house only four days, dying on February 26th, 1910. He was a member of the Kingsbury Club; the Adirondack Automobile Association; the New York State Historical Association; the Association of the Alumni of Phillips Exeter Academy, and the Harvard College Alumni Association. He was the Vice-President of the Adirondack Motor Car Company, and the Secretary of the Progressive Pulp and Paper Company.

Heredity and training had peculiarly fitted him to grapple intelligently with the social, civic and political problems of the future. He was a man of culture. He took great interest in public affairs and in world politics. Unostentatious and retiring, he was reserved, except to his intimates, but those who knew him liked him, and marvelled at his wealth of information. Ill health alone, apparently, prevented him from attaining worthy distinction among the world's workers, in whose ranks he longed for place.

Born for success he seemed,
With grace to win, with heart to hold,
All pledged in coming days to forge
Weapons to guard the State.

Patrick J. Kenny

Died Nov. 26, 1909

Rev. Patrick J. Kenny, better known as Brother Joseph was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1858. He received his early education at the hands of the Brothers of Mary in the Cathedral schools of that city. He was early interested in the work of the Christian Brothers but met with serious opposition on the part of his father who wished him to become a priest and not bury his varied talents in what he called the obscurity of the cloister. In 1874 he was received into the novitiate by Rev. Brother Paulian, the then pro-

vincial of the order. Having completed his novitiate and scholasticate with marked success, he was assigned to teach a low class in St. Vincent's school in Baltimore. In 1880 Brother Joseph was transferred to Manhattan College as Prefect of the Junior student and also as teacher of English literature, general history, and mathematics. In 1885 he was made director of St. Peter's High School where his work as teacher and director was of a high order of merit.

In 1891 Brother Joseph was sent to St. Joseph's College, Buffalo, and from there he was called to Tooting College, London, England. He remained in London two years and then spent one year in one of the Brothers' Colleges in France as Professor of English. In 1895 he was recalled to America and made General Inspector of Schools in the New York Province. In 1897 he was appointed director of De LaSalle Acedemy and in 1898 succeeded Rev. Brother Justin as provincial.

The crowning work of the life of Brother Joseph was the erection of St. Joseph's Normal College at Poncantico Hills.

Brother Joseph was buried from St. Patrick's Cathedral which presented a very impressive sight on the day of his funeral. In the sanctuary were His Grace, Archbishop Farley, the Right Rev. Charles E. McDonnell, Bishop of Brooklyn, and the Right Rev. George Mundelein, Auxiliary Bishop of the same see. There were also present ten Right Rev. Monsignors and perhaps a hundred of the reverend clergy, secular and regular, while in the nave there was not a vacant seat in any pew and hundreds had to stand during the service.

William T. O'Neil

Died May 5, 1909.

William T. O'Neil was born Feb. 7, 1850, near Paul Smith's in the town of Brighton, Franklin County. He was a son of Thomas O'Neil, one of the pioneer lumbermen of that section. His early education was received in the old time district school of his neighborhood and at the Fort Edward Collegiate Institute. Soon after leaving school he entered the law office of Hon. Smith M. Weed of Plattsburg and it was his ambition to continue the law, but he was forced to abandon this pursuit because of ill health.

He returned to the woods and became interested in the lumber business and farming and for many years has been a resident of St. Regis Falls and has been closely indentified with the growth and advancement of that community.

At various times he has been connected with nearly every important industry of the town and interested himself in every local institution that had for its ultimate end the betterment of conditions in that locality. He served several years on the Board of Supervisors and in the fall of 1881 was elected a member of Assembly and served for four terms. While in the legislature he and Theodore Roosevelt, who was then beginning his political career as a member of the Lower House, became firm friends,and one of Roosevelt's last acts before his departure for Africa was to send a message to his old friend. In 1906 Mr. O'Neil was elected State Senator in the St. Lawrence-Franklin district and was re-elected in 1908. No man in the Senate enjoyed the confidence and respect of his associates to a greater degree than did Senator O'Neil.

In November, 1872, Mr. O'Neil was married to Ophelia, daughter of James H. Young, of St. Regis Falls. He is survived by his widow, and five children, H. Edward, Arthur, Mrs. A. Macdonald, and the Misses Dorothy and Florence O'Neil, all of St. Regis Falls.

Senator O'Neil was a member of the Methodist Church and was also a member of the Odd Fellows Lodge at St. Regis Falls, and Northern Constellation Lodge, F. & A. M. of Malone.

Charles H. Williams

Died Feb'y 27, 1909

Charles H. Williams, of 690 Delaware Avenue, Buffalo, died of apoplexy at the St. Charles Hotel, New Orleans, La., Feb'y 27, 1909. He had just arrived at New Orleans from Central America, where he had been on a short trip. Mr. Williams was a man of fine physique—over six feet tall—one of those men who pass through life apparently without knowing what it is to be sick, and his sudden death was a great shock to his family and business associates.

Few men in Buffalo were more prominently identified with the business affairs of Buffalo than was Charles H. Williams. He was the oldest son of the late Gibson T. Williams, who was in his

day one of the wealthiest men of Buffalo, and was born August 1, 1842.

He was educated in Buffalo and abroad. His preparatory course was taken at Russell's Military School at New Haven, Conn. Then he entered the school of The Abbe Paris, at Versailles, France, where he remained for a year.

He was married to Emma Alice Jewett of Buffalo on September 19, 1866. Of the three children born to them, only one, Mrs. Frederick Lorenz Pratt, is living.

Mr. Williams was a director in the Bank of Buffalo and the Bank of Niagara at Niagara Falls and had large holdings in Buffalo real estate.

He was a member of the Trinity Episcopal Church and served as a vestryman. He was at one time president of the Buffalo Chapter of the Society of Sons of the Revolution. He belonged to the National Society of Descendants of the French and American officers, the Society of Colonial Wars, the Society of the Cincinnati, the Hudson Society of New York, the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, the Buffalo Historical Society, the American Historical Association, the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, the Buffalo Club, the Park Club, the Elicott Club, the Saturn Club, and the Country Club. He was a Mason and belonged to the Lodge of Ancient Landmarks No. 441.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF CLOSER RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF THE STATE.

ALBANY INSTITUTE AND HISTORICAL AND ART SOCIETY.

Incorporated originally March 12, 1793, under the title of "The Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Arts and Manufactures," of which Chancellor Robert R. Livingston was the first President. Re-incorporated under the title of "The Society for the Promotion of the Useful Arts in the State of New York." Re-incorporated as The Albany Institute, February 27, 1829, with Hon. Stephen Van Rensselaer, President. "The Albany Historical and Art Society" organized in 1866, was united with The Albany Institute, April 25, 1900, under the title, "Albany Institute and Historical and Art Society."

Annual Meeting, Second Monday in May.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—J. Townsend Lansing.
First Vice President—Hon. Danforth E. Ainsworth.
Second Vice-President—Dr. Albert Vander Veer.
Third Vice-President—Dr. Cyrus S. Merrill.
Secretary—Samuel S. Hatt,
Post Office Address, Albany, New York.
Treasurer—Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.

DIRECTORS, 1910.

Dr. Albert Vander Veer	Prof. Henry P. Warren
Dr. Cyrus S. Merrill	William P. Rudd
Hon. Danforth E. Ainsworth	Edward N. McKinney
Robert C. Pruyn	Ledyard Cogswell, Jr.
Jesse W. Potts	A. A. Dayton
Charles Gibson	William L. M. Phelps
Col. W. G. Rice	William T. Mayer
Parker Corning	James Fenimore Cooper
Verplanck Colvin	George Douglas Miller
Hon. Franklin M. Danaher	John L. Newman
Philander Deming	Dr. William O. Stillman
Hon. Simon W. Rosendale	J. Townsend Lansing
Samuel W. Brown	John E. McElroy
James F. McElroy	Samuel S. Hatt
Edward L. Pruyn	Grange Sard
Andrew Thompson	Gen. John H. Patterson
Frederick Tillinghast	Martin H. Glynn

COMMITTEES, 1910.

Executive.

J. Townsend Lansing, Chairman
John E. McElroy Dr. Albert Vander Veer Edward N. McKinney
Ledyard Cogswell, Jr. Samuel S. Hatt

House.

Ledyard Cogswell, Jr. Frederick Tillinghast John E. McElroy

Entertainment.

William Gorham Rice, Chairman Edward Kneeland Parkinson

MEETINGS, 1910.

May 25.

PAPERS, 1910.

"The Burial Place of Lord Howe," by Rev. Joseph Hooper.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

None issued.

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, January 10, 1863.
Annual Meeting, Second Tuesday in January.

OFFICERS, 1910.

Honorary President—Andrew Langdon.
President—Henry W. Hill.
Vice-President—Charles R. Wilson.
Secretary-Treasurer—Frank H. Severance,
Post Office Address, Buffalo, New York.

COMMITTEES, 1910.

Finance.

Henry W. Hill, Chairman
R. R. Hefford Charles W. Goodyear George A. Stringer

MEETINGS, 1910.

January 20, February 6. February 13, February 20, February 24, February 27, March 13, March 20, March 27, March 28, May 8, May 31, June 2, June 6, June 20, October 25, November 10, November 15, November 17.

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES, 1910.

"An Evening With Dickens," by E. S. Williamson.
"Forts on the Niagara Frontier," by Hon. Peter A. Porter.
"Lincoln," by J. W. Ross.
"Western New York in the Days of Washington," by Frank H. Severance.
"Emerson and His Friends at Concord," by Mrs. Mary K. Babbitt.
"The Story of Seneca Park," the old Indian burial ground at South Buffalo, by Frank H. Severance.
"The City of Buffalo," by John Sayles.
"The Career of Philip Sheridan," by James Harmon.
"The First Easter Observance on the Niagara," by Frank H. Severance.

"Arabia," by Dr. Edgar J. Banks.
"Some Facts About Father Hennepin," by Frank H. Severance.
"The Story of Hingham Plantation," by Rev. Louis C. Cornish.
"The League of the Five Nations," by Arthur C. Parker, N. Y. S. Arch.
"The Governors of New York," by Hon. Charles Z. Lincoln.
"Hollidaying in Picturesque Brittany," by Frank Yeigh.
"The Evolution of Our Flag," by Charles Wm. Burrows.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

Vol. XIV of the Society's Publications. Title: "The Holland Land Co. and Canal Construction in Western New York."
"Buffalo-Black Rock Harbor Papers, Journals and Documents," Edited by Frank H. Severance. Octavo 496 pp.

CANISTEO VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, February 15, 1875.
Annual Meeting, Third Monday in December.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Hon. Irvin W. Near.
Secretary—Walter G. Doty,
Post Office Address, Hornell, New York.
Treasurer—Dr. Charles Innes.

COMMITTEES, 1910.

Finance.

Dr. R. W. Barney	Dr. Charles Innes	Adrian De Wilton

Historic Spots.

Hon. Irvin W. Near	William B. Taylor	William H. Greenhow

On Program.

Dr. Charles Innes	Walter G. Doty	Frank H. Bennett

MEETINGS, 1910.

January 21, January 28, February 4, February 11, February 18, February 25, March 4, March 11, March 25, April 1, April 22, June 3, July 4, December 16.

PAPERS, 1910.

"King Saul," by Robert Bowie.
"Man's Latent Powers," by Walter G. Doty.
"Early Times in Jefferson County," by Hon. Irvin W. Near.
"John Wychlyffe," by W. Arthur Williams.
"True Happiness,' by Dr. George Conderman.
"The Physiology of Belief," by Dr. Charles Innes.
"The Development of the American Negro," by Rev. A. L. Schumann.
"Major Thomas Bennett," by Frank H. Bennett.
"Alcibiades," by Robert Bowie.
"The Fourth Dimension," by Dane B. Sutfin.
"The Knights Templar," by Adrian De Wilton.

"The Soul's Immortality," by Robert Bowie.
"Early History of the North Country," by Hon. Irvin W. Near.
"Early Britain," by Walter G. Doty.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

None issued.

THE CHAUTAUQUA SOCIETY OF HISTORY AND NATURAL SCIENCE.

An unincorporated Society under this name was formed in 1883. This Society held meetings annually, which were of much interest, and accumulated much valuable data. William W. Henderson was its indefatigable Secretary during the twenty-five years of its existence, and was most faithful to its interests. Upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society's existence, Mr. Henderson was compelled to retire from the Secretaryship on account of the infirmities of age, but upon his suggestion, steps were taken for the regular incorporation of the Society. This was accomplished on October 28, 1909.

Annual Meeting, Third Thursday in July.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Hon. Obed Edson.
First Vice-President—Hon. William Wallace Henderson.
Second Vice-President, Mrs. Mary Hall Tuckerman.
Treasurer—Levant L. Mason.
Secretary—Hon. Abner Hazeltine,
Post Office Address, Jamestown, New York.

TRUSTEES, 1910.

Willis H. Tennant William G. Matin Ransom J. Barrows
Hon. Arthur B. Ottoway Louis McKinstry

COMMITTEES, 1910.

Executive.

Hon. Obed Edson Hon. Abner Hazeltine Levant L. Mason
George W. Strong Hon. Arthur B. Ottoway
Mrs. Newell Cheney Willis H. Tennant

Necrology.

Mrs. R. C. Seaver

MEETINGS, 1910.

September 1.

PAPERS, 1910.

"The Early Settlement of Jamestown," by Hon. Obed Edson.
"The Beginning of Jamestown," by Hon. Abner Hazeltine.
"The Women of the Early Days," by Mrs. Mary Hall Tuckerman.
"How Pennsylvania Acquired Territory That Was Once a Part of New York," by D. A. A. Nichols. This paper was read by Mrs. Farnum, a daughter of the aged Author, who has since deceased. The paper referred to the triangle on which the city of Erie, Pa., is now situated.

"Some Reminiscences of the Prendergast Family," by Mrs. Kate Griffith Cheney, an aged lady, a descendant of William Prendergast.
"Necrology," by Mrs. R. C. Seaver.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

None issued.

JEFFERSON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, May 10, 1886.
Annual Meeting, First Monday in December.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Col. W. B. Camp.
Vice-Presidents—E. H. Thompson, E. B. Sterling, W. D. McKinstry.
Corresponding Secretary—Robert Lansing.
Recording Secretary—George B. Massey,
Post Office Address, Watertown, New York.

THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, April 2, 1863.
Annual Meeting, Second Monday in May.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Hon. Willard Bartlett.
First Vice-President—Byran H. Smith.
Second Vice-President—Francis L. Eames.
Corresponding Secretary—Tunis G. Bergen,
Post Office Address, Brooklyn, New York.
Recording Secretary—Joseph E. Brown.
Treasurer—John Jay Pierrepont.
Librarian—Miss Emma Toedteberg.

DIRECTORS.

Frederick S. Parker	William B. Davenport
William G. Low	Robert B. Woodward
John E. Leech	James L. Morgan
Simeon B. Chittenden	Bryan H. Smith
Tunis G. Bergen	Joseph E. Brown
Rev. Reese F. Alsop, D. D.	John Jay Pierrepont
Carll H. De Silver	Charles A. Boody
James McKeen	Isaac H. Cary
Edward B. Thomas	Francis L. Eames
Martin Joost	Alfred T. White
Alexander E. Orr	Willard Bartlett
Arthur M. Hatch	John F. Praeger

Rev. L. Mason Clarke, D. D.

COMMITTEES, 1910.

Executive.

Bryan H. Smith, Chairman

Joseph E. Brown John J. Pierrepont Francis L. Eames
James McKeen Arthur M. Hatch John F. Praeger

MEETINGS, 1910.

None held.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

None issued.

MADISON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, March 29, 1900.

Annual Meeting, Third Wednesday in January.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Edwin J. Brown.
First Vice-President—Hiram L. Rockwell.
Second Vice-President—M. Eugene Barlow.
Third Vice-President—W. Stanley Child.
Recording Secretary—Samuel A. Maxon,
Post Office Address, Oneida, New York.
Corresponding Secretary—Daniel Keating.
Treasurer—Theodore F. Hand.
Librarian—Miss Jeanne Saunders.

COMMITTEES, 1910.

Executive (Elective Members).

Richard B. Ruby William W. Warr Mrs. Mary Dyer Jackson

Addresses and Publications.

W. Stanley Child Charles H. Skelton Mrs. William W. Warr

Membership.

Mrs. Theodore Coles Miss Georgia Bull Miss Lily Higinbotham
Mrs. Kate A. Brown M. Eugene Barlow

Rooms and Properties.

Norman L. Cramer Miss Louise Higinbotham
Miss Nellie Vrooman

MEETINGS, 1910.

February 16, April 20, June 29, October 19, November 16.

ADDRESSES, 1910.

"The Barge Canal," by N. E. Whitford, of the State Engineering Department.

"Robert E. Lee," by Hon. C. A. Hitchcock.

"In the Light of History," by Professor John Green, of Colgate University.

"Early History of Wampsville and Its Surroundings," by Ex-Judge Joseph Beal.

"The New State School of Agriculture," by J. A. Johnson.
"The Twelfth Annual Meeting of the New York State Historical Association, October 4-6, at Lake Champlain," by Mrs. Theodore Coles.
"Rome and the Mohawk Valley," by Hon. Eugene Rowland.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

None issued.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, May 10, 1904.
Annual Meeting, Second Wednesday in June.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Robert M. Hartley.
First Vice-President—William J. Kline.
Second Vice-President—John K. Warnick.
Third Vice-President—C. F. Van Horne.
Secretary—Charles E. French.
Corresponding Secretary—W. Max Reid,
Post Office Address, Amsterdam, New York.
Treasurer—Edward O. Bartlett.
Historian—Charles F. McClumpha.
Curator and Librarian—W. Max Reid.
Custodian—Alpha Childs.

COMMITTEES, 1910.

Executive.

Robert M. Hartley Charles E. French John K. Warnick
William J. Kline Charles Stover, M. D.

Literary.

W. Max Reid Mrs. Fred R. Greene Charles F. McClumpha

Museum.

W. Max Reid Mrs. Fred R. Greene Fred R. Greene
Mrs. W. G. Waldron
E. Corning Davis Mrs. Frazier Whitcomb

Archaeological.

W. Max Reid Robert H. Hartley S. L. Frey C. F. Van Horne
D. S. Bussing G. Van Hartley

MEETINGS, 1910.

June 8, October 28.

ADDRESSES, 1910.

"Local Historical Societies in Their Relation to History and Patriotism," by Victor Hugo Paltsits.
"Kateri Tekakwitha," by W. Max Reid.
"Pottery Hill," by Robert M. Hartley.
"Garoga," by S. L. Frey.
"Canawaroda," by W. Max Reid.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

None issued.

MORRIS MEMORIAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Organized, January 10, 1911.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Frank H. Wood.
Vice-President—John C. Carpenter.
Secretary—Earl W. Fellows,
Post Office Address, Chatham, New York.
Treasurer—Samuel Kaufman.

COMMITTEES, 1910.

On Program.

Frank H. Wood R. L. Ross H. A. Humphrey

THE ONONDAGA HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

Incorporated, April 29, 1863.
Annual Meeting, Second Friday in January.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—A. Judd Northrup.
Vice-Presidents—Salem Hyde, Dr. William M. Beauchamp.
Recording Secretary—Franklin H. Chase,
Post Office Address, Syracuse, New York.
Corresponding Secretary—William Eames.
Treasurer—Charles W. Snow.
Librarian—Mrs. L. L. Goodrich.

COMMITTEES, 1910.

Executive.

A. Judd Northrup Franklin H. Chase Salem Hyde
C. W. Snow E. A. Powell

Lectures and Historical Meetings.

George G. Fryer Miss Florence M. Keene Mrs. M. W. Chase

Ways and Means.

Hon. Charles Andrews Hon. Theodore E. Hancock
Clinton T. Rose Hon. Charles L. Stone
A. Judd Northrup

Local History.

Rev. Dr. William M. Beauchamp Mrs. Mary T. Leavenworth
Miss Frances P. Gifford Mrs. Sarah Sumner Teall

MEETINGS, 1910.

February 11, March 11, April 8, May 13, June 4; Pioneer Day, celebrated at Frenchman's Island, November 11, December 9.

ADDRESSES, 1910.

"West Indies," by Irving A. Savage.
"Army Life on the Plains and Warfare With the Western Indians," by Gen. S. S. Sumner.
"The Diamond: Birthstone of April," by Professor Philip F. Schneider.
"Onondaga Cemeteries and Revolutionary Soldiers," by Dr. W. M. Beauchamp.

"Scandinavia, Land of Midnight Sun," by E. P. Bates.
"The Handsome Lake Doctrine and Customs of the Iroquois," by Jairus Pierce.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

None issued.

PUTNAM COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, September 3, 1908.
Annual Meeting, First Saturday in June.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Gouverneur Kemble.
First Vice-President—Stuyvesant Fish.
Second Vice-President—Mrs. Daniel Butterfield.
Recording Secretary—Miss Mary H. Haldane,
Post Office Address, Kingston, New York.
Corresponding Secretary—Joseph A. Greene.
Treasurer—Otis Montrose.
Librarian—Mrs. Richard Giles.

DIRECTORS, 1910.

Gouverneur Paulding A. Augustus Healey William H. Haldane
Rev. Elbert Floyd Jones Hon. William Wood.

COMMITTEES, 1910.

Executive.

Rev. Elbert Floyd Jones Mrs. Louis Fitzgerald
Mrs. Henry C. Baxter
Mrs. Cornelia Reilly Miss Katherine O. Paulding

On Restoration of Mile Stones on Post Road.

Rev. Elbert Floyd Jones Mrs. Richard Giles Charles Griffin

Tablet.

Rev. Elbert Floyd Jones Mrs. Coryell Clark

On Prize Essays.

Captain Henry Metcalfe Rev. Elbert Floyd Jones

The subject of the biographical sketch for 1910, competed for by the school children of Putnam County, was Hon. Gouverneur Kemble, Founder of the West Point Foundry.

MEETINGS, 1910.

July 16.

ADDRESSES, 1910.

"Those Who Made the Guns in the Civil War at the West Point Foundry, the Committee of Safety, and the Women's Central Relief Committee," by Stuyvesant Fish.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

Calendar, Putnam County Historical Society.
A List of the Local Veterans of the Civil War.

SCHENECTADY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, June 30, 1905.
Annual Meeting, First Tuesday in June.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Henry G. Reist.
First Vice-President—Gen. Charles L. Davis.
Second Vice-President—Dr. Charles C. Duryee.
Third Vice-President—Charles P. Sanders.
Treasurer—Rev. Egbert C. Lawrence.
Secretary—DeLancey W. Watkins,
Post Office Address, Schenectady, New York.

TRUSTEES, 1910.

Alonzo P. Strong	Frank S. Hoffman
Benjamin H. Ripton	Henry G. Reist
Allen W. Johnston	Charles P. Sanders
J. W. Smitley	Percy Van Epps
Martin P. Swart	Jay A. Rickard
George W. Featherstonhaugh	Gen. Charles L. Davis
William T. B. Mynderse	Frank Van der Bogert, M. D.
DeLancey W. Watkins	Langdon Gibson
James R. Truax	Dr. Charles F. Clowe
M. F. Westover	Dr. C. C. Duryee
Hanford Robison	Hon. Jacob W. Clute
William A. Wick	Gerardus Smith

Rev. E. C. Lawrence

MEETINGS, 1910.

December 15.

ADDRESSES, 1910.

"The History and Names of Schenectady Streets," by Hon. Jacob W. Clute.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

None issued.

THE SCHOHARIE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, March 4, 1889.
Annual Meeting, Second Tuesday in January.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Charles M. Throop.
First Vice-President—Solomon Sias.
Second Vice-President—Rev. Frank Walford.
Secretary—Henry F. Kingsley, M. D.,
Post Office Address, Schoharie, New York.
Treasurer—Frank K. Grant.
Curator—Henry Cady.

COMMITTEES, 1910.

Addresses.

Solomon Sias Henry F. Kingsley, M. D. Charles E. Nichols

Membership.

Frank K. Grant Henry Cady S. A. Scranton

Biography.

William E. Roscoe George L. Danforth Chauncey Rickard

Publications.

Solomon Sias W. E. Bassler A. D. Mead

Finance.

Henry Livingstone Robert A. Dewey Arthur H. Woods

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

None issued.

SENECA FALLS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, June 27, 1904.
Annual Meeting, Third Monday in October.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Harrison Chamberlain.
Vice-President—Miss Belle Teller.
Secretary—Miss Emma Maier,
Post Office Address, Seneca Falls, New York.
Treasurer—Wilmot P. Elwell.
Librarian—Miss Janet McKay Cowing.

COMMITTEES, 1910.

Program.

Mrs. S. A. Wetmore, Chairman
Rev. P. E. Smith Prof. W. H. Beach Rev. W. P. Schell
H. A. Carmer Miss Anna Henion

Membership.

Rev. W. B. Clarke, Chairman
Miss Belle Teller Prof. W. H. Beach Rev. W. P. Schell
W. P. Elwell E. W. Medden Miss Janet Cowing
Harrison Chamberlain H. A. Carmer

MEETINGS, 1910.

April, May, October, November, December.

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES, 1910.

"The Situation in Nicaragua," by H. A. Carmer.
"The Laymen's Missionary Movement," by Rev. W. B. Clark.
"The Ancestry of B. F. Beach," by W. H. Beach.
"Roosevelt and the Vatican Incident," by Rev. John Nichols.

"Life of Halley," by Harrison Chamberlain.
"Recollections of Seneca Falls in 1865," by Stephen Monroe.
"The Conservation of Natural Resources," by Rev. Pulaski E. Smith.
"The Early Milliners of Seneca Falls," by Miss Janet Cowing.
"A Trip to Mexico," by Mrs. C. H. Williams.
"New Additions to the Hall of Fame," by Miss Emma Maier.
"Sketch of Jacob Crowninshield, Sr.," by Miss Anna Henion.
"Seneca County in the War of 1812," by Rev. Pulaski E. Smith.
"European Republics," by Miss Blanche R. Daniels.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

None issued.

THE SUFFOLK COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Incorporated, February 18, 1892.
Annual Meeting, Third Tuesday in February.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Augustus Floyd.
First Vice-President—Rev. Epher Whitaker, D. D.
Second Vice-President—George F. Stackpole.
Corresponding Secretary—Elihu S. Miller,
Post Office Address, Wading River, New York.
Recording Secretary—Miss Ruth H. Tuthill.
Treasurer—Timothy M. Griffing.
Curator—Rev. William I. Chalmers.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

Year Book of the Society, 1909, 6¼x9¾, 30 pp.

TICONDEROGA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated, September 9, 1908.
Annual Meeting, Last Monday in August.

OFFICERS 1910.

President, Dr. William A. E. Cummings.
First Vice President, David Williams.
Second Vice President, Thomas E. Warren.
Secretary, Joseph Thurlow Weed.
Treasurer, Mortimer Yale Ferris.

COMMITTEES 1910

Publication

David Williams Horace A. Moses Mrs. Georgiana H. Cook
Mrs. Mary Downs Mrs. Alice W. Bascom Frank B. Wickes
Rev. Loyal L. Bigelow

Original Research and Location of Historic Spots

Hon. Clayton H. De Lano Hon. Frank C. Hooper
Herbert D. Hoffnagle Dr. John P. H. Cummins L. De Forest Cone
Mortimer Yale Ferris Walter W. Richards Richard P. Downs
Myron J. Wilcox

Marking Historic Spots and Monuments

Hon John E. Milholland Harrison B. Moore Frank L. Brust
Alfred C. Bossom William I. Higgins Dr. M. H. Turner
Irving C. Newton

MEETINGS 1910

February 12, March 30, August 29, October 4.

ADDRESSES 1910

"Lincoln, the Mountaineer," by Rev. John M. Thomas, D.D.

"Functions of Local Historical Societies and Their Relations to Patriotism," by Victor Hugo Paltsits, State Historian.

PUBLICATIONS 1910

"The Freedom of the Old Fortress to the Members of the New York State Historical Association."

"A Memorial Tablet at Ticonderoga—the Landing on the Grande Portage."

THE YONKERS HISTORICAL AND LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.

Incorporated, February 15, 1892.

Annual Meeting, Third Tuesday in January.

OFFICERS, 1910.

President—Hon. Stephen H. Thayer.
First Vice-President—Hon. T. Astley Atkins.
Second Vice-President—Max Cohen.
Treasurer—William Shrive.
Recording Secretary—Hon. George N. Rigby.
Corresponding Secretary—DeWitt C. Stevens.
Librarian and Curator—Galusha B. Balch, M. D.

PUBLICATIONS, 1910.

None issued.

THE CHAPPAQUA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Not Incorporated.

Organized, September 15, 1910.

Annual Meeting, February 3 of each year.

The object of this Society is to foster and perpetuate all historic data and reminiscences in connection with Westchester County and especially of Chappaqua; the preservation of historical papers and documents relating to those subjects and particularly to Horace Greeley; the erection of historical tablets; and other objects common with societies of this character.

OFFICERS 1910

President, John I. D. Bristol.
Vice-President, Victor Guinzburg.
Treasurer, Jacob Erlich.
Secretary, Edwin Bedell.

COMMITTEES 1910

On Horace Greeley Memorial

John I. D. Bristol Victor Guinzburg Jacob Erlich
Edwin Bedell Morgan Cowperthwaite George Hunt
Wilbur Hyatt George D. Mackay John McKesson, Jr.
Hiram E. Manville A. H. Smith L. O. Thompson Albert Turner

PUBLICATIONS 1910.

"Sketch of the Life of Horace Greeley," by Jacob Erlich, 8x11, 22 pp.
"The Centenary of Horace Greeley," by John I. D. Bristol, 5x8½, 18 pp.

REPORT OF LIBRARIAN FOR 1910

To the Members of the New York State Historical Association:—

During the year there have been received by the Association—books, monographs, and publications in accordance with the following list.

The library of the Association is of so new a creation, and its elevation to a partial position of dignity, from a heterogeneous mass of books and pamphlets, of so recent date, that our contributors have not sent their gifts or publications to the right address always, and in this way, while we intended to give the proper credit in all cases, should anyone have been overlooked, and any book or donation not have been listed, we would be glad to receive the correction, and properly acknowledge the gift.

One of the most important and helpful adjucts of an historical association or society is its library. It takes years of hard work and a deal of money however to accumulate a suitable collection of books. As explained in our last volume of transactions, this Association can only hope to get the nucleus of a good library through the gifts and donations of its members. We therefore urge on each member of the Association to send us first copies of their own literary works, if they have published any such; second—any extra copies they may have of books or monographs relating to the history of this or those adjacent states, whose story is linked with ours; third—any old prints of characters or persons who have had to do the making of our commonwealth, or any maps of the territory in which we are interested; fourth—old diaries, old mss., or journals, or copies of the same, that the Association may carry out one of the most important purposes for which it was founded—"To gather books, manuscripts, pictures and relics relating to the early history of the State," and "to disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of * * * the publication * * * of literature on historical subjects."

A number of donations were made the present year, but it is to be hoped that each member will make him or herself a committee of one to see that the Association library for the year 1911 is made worthy of the name, to the end that it shall become as valuable from its works of reference, as some of its older, more powerful and better known sister societies in other states.

The Poet at the Breakfast Table said "Every library should try to be complete on something, if it were only the history of pinheads."

Let us see if we can not make our library the last word on the hisorty of our own great and mighty Empire State.

J. A. HOLDEN,
Librarian.

Glens Falls, N. Y., Oct. 31st, 1910.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED—1910.

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.—Proceedings for Oct. 20, 1909, Vol. XX (n. s.), Parts I-II.

American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, Tribune Bldg., *New York.*—An Appeal for the Preservation of City Hall Park, New York, with a Brief History of Park.

Id. 15th Annual Report—1910.

Albany Institute, Albany, N. Y.—Transactions, Vols. IX-X-XI-XII.

Allen Arnold, Boston, Mass.—Monograph Fort Jefferson and Its Commander, 1861, (Genl. Lewis E. Arnold).

The Boston Book Co., Boston, Mass.—Bulletin of Bibliography, Magazine Subjects, Index for 1909.

Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, N. Y.—Rough List of Mss., 1910.

Conn. D. A. R., Norwich, Conn.—Year Book for 1910-11.

Conn. Hist. Society.—Annual report for 1910.

Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Ill.—Annual Report, with a separate monograph, A Study of the Hudson Bay Company (The Masters of the Wilderness). Pub. by Society, 1909.

Rev. Henry M. Cox., New York.—History Reformed Church of Herkimer, N. Y.

H. B. Carrington, Hyde Park, Mass.—Historical Record, Vol. VII, 1909.

D. A. R. (National Society), Washington, D. C.—Lineage Books, Vols. XXIV-XXV, 1898.

Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.—Historical Collections for Jany-Apl.-July and Oct., Vol. XLVI, 1910.

The Genealogical Exchange, Buffalo, N. Y.—Vols. I to VI from May, 1904, to Feby., 1910, also Nos. for Mch., Apr., May, June, July, Aug., Sept., Oct., 1910.

Chas. P. Hall, Binghamton, N. Y.—Life and Letters of Genl. Samuel Holden Parsons, 1906.

Capt. W. H. Howard, Newark, N. J.—Monograph Lincoln and Sickles.

Iowa State Historical Society.—History Labor Legislation in Iowa, 1910; Territorial Governors of the Old North West; Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Jan., Apr., July, Oct., 1910.

Iowa Historical Dept.—Annals of Iowa; Jany., Apl., 1910, Vol. IX, Nos. 4-5.

Journal of American History, New York.—Vol. IV, Nos. 1, 3.

Journal of American History.—Complete in four parts, for the years 1908 and 1909, Vols II and III. New Haven, 1908-09. Deposited by Fred B. Richards.

John S. Hopkins University Studies, Baltimore, Md.—England and the French Revolution, 1789-1797, by Wm. Thomas Laprade, Ph. D., 1909; No. 2 Series XXVIII—Trades Union Labels, 1910; No. 1, Series XXVIII—History of Reconstruction in Louisiana, by John Ross Franklin, 1910.

H. T. Kingsley, Schoharie, N. Y.—"Condensed History of Old Stone Fort."

Library of Congress.—Want Lists, 1909-10; Report of Librarian and Supt. Buildings, with 4 Circulars, etc., 1909; Preliminary List of Subject Sub-divisions; Monthly List of State Publications.

Mrs. Annette Wells Lamb, Port Henry, N. Y.—Fort Frederick and Crown Point. D. A. R. monograph.

Louisiana State Museum.—History Dept., Historical Program and Itinerary of a Ride Through the Vieux Carre', occasion visit to New Orleans of President Taft, Oct. 31st, 1909. Address of Prof. Alcee Fortier On the Ride Through Historic New Orleans, Delivered at Jackson Barracks Oct. 31st, 1909, paper n. d., n. p.

Missouri State Historical Society.—Vol. IV, No. 2, Jany.; No. 3, Apl.; No. 4, July.

Magazine of American History, Portchester, N. Y.—Dec., 1909; Jany to Oct., 1910.

New York City, History Club.—Historical Guide to the City of New York, 1910.

New England Society in New York.—Celebration 104th Anniversary, Dec. 22, 1909.

New England Society of Vineland, N. J.—Constitution, also Monograph The Tea Burners of Cumberland Co., Dec. 22, 1774. By Frank D. Andrews, 1908.

Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society.—Quarterly for Oct.-Dec., 1909; June-Mar., Apl.-June, 1910, Vols. IV and V, Nos. 3 and 4; 1 and 2.

Ohio State Archeological and Historical Society, Columbus.—Quarterly for 1910; Nos. 1-2-3-4.

Hon. Howland Pell, New York.—Day's Miniature Almanac, 1822; Hutchens' New York Almanac, 1824.

Pennsylvania Society in New York.—Year Book for 1910.

Rhode Island Historical Society.—Proceedings for 1906-07; 1907-08.

Mrs. Caroline H. Royce, Astor Library, New York.—History Bessport (Westport) New York; also Monograph The First Century of Lake Champlain.

H. C. Smith, Lamoni, Ohio.—Journal of History, Vol. III, Nos. 2-3-4, 1910.

History Church of Jesus Christ, L. D. S., 4 Vols., 1908.

Salem, N. Y.—Report of Bancroft Library, January 15, 1910.

Sons of Revolution, New York City.—Report of Board of Managers for 1909.

Scribner Sons, New York.—Intimate Life of Alexander Hamilton, by Allen McLane Hamilton, 1910.

Suffolk County, New York.—History of Society, 1910.

Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.—Vasa Fox Collection of Russian Souvenirs in U. S. National Museum.

W. Straley, Nelson, Neb.—Archaic Gleanings, a Study of Archaeology in Nuckolls County, Nebraska.

University of California, Berkeley, Col.—Bulletin No. 3, Exchanges, 1910; Vol. I, No. 6, Diary of Patrick Breen; No. 7, Papers San Francisco Vigilance Committee; No. 8, 3rd Series, Vol. III. Edited by Van Hemert-Engert and Teggert, Mar., 1810.

War Department, Washington, D. C.—Gettysburgh Nat'l Military Park Commission; 1909-10.

West Point Military Academy.—Centennial History (2 Vols)

Vermont State Library.—Journals House and Senate State of Vermont, Session (2 Vols.), St. Albans, Vt., 1908.

Vermont Historical Society.—Proceedings. Oct.-Nov., 1898 (E. Allen), Oct.-Nov., 1899-1900; 1908-09.

D. H. Van Hoosear.—History of Van Hoosear Family, Norwalk, Conn, 1902.

Vineland, N. J., Historical and Antig Society.—Annual Report for Year ending Oct. 12, 1909. Also Memo. Journal from Hartford to Niagara Falls, 1828. Vineland, N. J., 1909.

Wisconsin State Historical Society.—Proceedings for 1909. Madison, Wis., 1909.

Fred B. Richards, Glens Falls, N. Y.—Journal of American History for years 1908-09, Vols. II and III, New Haven, 1908-09.

The International Genealogical Directory.—1907.

Extracts from the Journal of Rev. John Graham, Chaplain of the First Connecticut Regiment, *Colonel Lyman.* Havana Expedition, 1762.

Annual Report of the National Association of Audubon Societies for 1909.

Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, 1903-1904.—With Revised Constitution, List of Members, Reports, Papers, and List of Revolutionary Soldiers, Buried in Vermont, and Revolutionary Pensioners. President's Address, "Recovery of the Jones Fay Records." Paper, "Commodore Thomas Macdonough," Hon. Charles B. Darling. Paper, "Revolutionary Soldiers Buried in Vermont, and Incidents Concerning Some of Vermont's Revolutionary Heroes," Walter B. Crockett.

Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society for the years 1908-1909.

The Young Man as a Patriot.—Read December 16th, 1907. Written by Major A. F. Gault for the Young Men's Association of Trinity Church, Montreal, P. Q.

Bureau of the American Republics, Washington U. S. A.—Joseph P. Smith, Director, Hawaii. Handbook No. 85, August, 1897.

Sons of the Revolution.—New York Society, 1896.

Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York.—Reports of Board of Managers, Treasurer and Historian. Fraunces Tavern, New York, December 4, 1908.

Sons of the Revolution, 1776-1883.—General Society of the Revolution, 1908.

Inauguration of the President.—Union College Bulletin, Commencement Number, August, 1909. Vol II, No. 4.

Union College Bulletin.—Vol. I, August, 1908. No. 4, Commencement Number, 1907-1908.

Union College Bulletin.—Vol. II, May, 1909, No. 3. Alumni Number, 1908-1909.

Union College Bulletin.—Vol. II, February, 1909. No. 2. Report Number, 1908-1909.

Bulletin of Brown University, The Catalogue.—1909-1910. Vol. VI, December, 1909. No. 5.

A Tercentenary Publication, 1909.—The Centennial of Ticonderoga, 1764, July Twenty-fifth, 1864. A Reprint from the Essex County Republican, August 18, 1864. Published by the Ticonderoga Historical Society.

Path of the Earth and Moon in the Plane of the Ecliptic.—Paper by Verplank Colvin. Read before the Albany Institute, Dec. 11, 1894.

Adjutant General's Report.—Vols. I-II-III. 1868.

MEETING OF TRUSTEES

JANUARY 31, 1911

Mid-winter meeting of the trustees of the New York State Historical Association, held at Hotel Ten Eyck, Albany, N. Y., 11:30 A. M., January 31, 1911.

Present—Hon. James A. Roberts, New York; Jacques W. Redway, Mt. Vernon; Hon. Grenville M. Ingalsbe, Hudson Falls; William Wait, Kinderhook; James A. Holden, Glens Falls; George K. Hawkins, Plattsburg; Hon. Charles F. Cantine, Kingston; Dr. Sherman Williams, Glens Falls; Dr. Joseph E. King, Fort Edward; Dr. William O. Stillman, Albany; Dr. W. A. E. Cummings, Ticonderoga; Hon. Andrew S. Draper, Albany; Hon. Thos. E. Finegan, Albany; Miss Mary H. Haldane, Kingston; Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls.

Upon motion it was resolved that the minutes of the previous meeting be adopted without reading.

James A. Holden, Treasurer, reported as follows:

To the Trustees of the New York State Historical Association:

Gentlemen:—

The report of your treasurer at this time will be of an informal nature:

Would report that I have paid on account of printing 1909 Proceedings $450.00, which leaves a balance due the Glens Falls Publishing Company of $205.40. There is also due the Bullard Press for printing, etc., $38.50, making total liabilities of $243.90.

On Jan. 30th we had cash on hand, received from dues and other sources, amounting to $266.66, leaving assets over liabilities of $22.76. There is still to be collected a large proportion of dues for present year.

I regret to state that we are receiving quite a number of resignations. There have also been a number of deaths in the Association during the past year, which the accessions will practically equalize. A determined effort to make the membership up to 1,000

paying members is very desirable, and the proposed action of the Association to that end is deserving of the support of every member of the Board of Trustees.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. A. HOLDEN, Treasurer.

Upon motion it was resolved that the treasurer's report be adopted.

Verbal reports were received for the following committees: Program, by Judge Ingalsbe; Legislation, by Mr. Holden; Marking Historic Spots, by Dr. Williams; Closer Relations, by Judge Ingalsbe; Crown Point Reservation, by Dr. Cummings; Publication, by Mr. Richards.

Upon motion it was resolved that the chairman of the Lake George Battle Ground Park Committee be requested to communicate with the office of the State Engineer and ask that a survey be made by the state of the Lake George Battleground Park.

Judge Ingalsbe as a special committee to amend the articles of incorporation made a verbal report. Upon motion it was resolved that a committee composed of Judge Ingalsbe, Morris P. Ferris, and Thomas E. Finegan be authorized to consider the several questions involved carefully and that they hereby be granted power to act which ever way they consider for the best interests of the Association.

At this point Judge Cantine and Miss Haldane repeated the invitation of the city of Kingston that the society hold the next meeting in that city, and upon motion it was resolved that the Association accept the invitation of the city of Kingston and that the Program Committee meet the Kingston Committee with power to make definite arrangements for such meeting.

Dr. Williams then brought up the matter of offering prizes to the students of the High Schools of the state for essays on historical subjects and submitted the following outline.

"THE NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Offers the following prizes for the best essays on "Ticonderoga in History." Competition open to all pupils of High School grade in any of the schools of the State, public or private. The essays must consist of at least two hundred words. They must be completed

and in the hands of the Secretary, Mr. Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls, N. Y., not later than the first of November, 1911. At the close of each essay must be a declaration signed by the writer, saying that he or she has received no aid from any one beyond advice as to what to read in preparation.

First Prize. $30 in gold.

Second Prize. $20 in gold.

Third Prize. $10 in gold.

There will be a first and second honorable mention for the first and second best essays submitted from each county.

The three prize essays will be printed in the proceedings of the Association, as will be also the names and addresses of all those winning honorable mention.

The bibliography accompanying this, is suggestive merely, as much of the benefit to be derived from the preparation of each paper will come from earnest, systematic work of the scholar and essayist in looking up his or her own references in the various histories, special works and monographs treating on New York history, either directly or indirectly.

Many of the books mentioned, as well as others, can be found in the local libraries. The State Library will be glad to cooperate in this matter as fully as possible *lending books through the local libraries,* to which application should be made.

The essays will be examined and prizes awarded by a committee appointed by the Association.

It is hoped that school officers, superintendents, principals, and teachers will do all in their power to create a general interest in this matter, so that our children may come to be as well informed upon the history of our State, and as proud of it, as are the citizens of Massachusetts of the history of that Commonwealth. Surely there is sufficient reason for this, as no other State has a prouder history than ours. If this plan arouses sufficient interest, prizes will be awarded from year to year, taking each year some different phase of the history of the State.

It is believed that work of this character will not only stimulate pride in the history of our State, but that it will prove a valuable aid in creating proper reading habits, and a great help in teaching the art of composition."

REFERENCES.

At the request of the Committee on High Schools and Academies, the following list of references relating to Ticonderoga has been prepared. If the special works are not in your local library the institution can procure them from the State Library at Albany.

A proper consideration of this subject would divide it naturally into four parts.

First, ante-Colonial days; second, the Colonial period; third, Revolutionary period; fourth, War of 1812 period.

The most available source work from which to obtain the bibliography and references for these periods will be found to be Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America.* The Essays, Notes and Appendices of this work give practically everything that is known of general interest on these different periods. Vols. IV and V treat of the first two periods and VI, VII and VIII of the last two.

Winsor's *Handbook of the American Revolution,* Boston, 1899, covers very generally the references for that period.

In 1901 the New York State Library issued their *Bulletin* 56, comprising the Bibliography of New York Colonial History, which should be studied with much care, as showing the works in the State Library on this subject.

The American Historical Association's *Annual Report for* 1905, II, contains the bibliography of every Historical Association in the United States up to that time, and from its subject matter and index valuable hints can be obtained on this topic. The publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society, New York Historical Society, New Jersey Historical Society, Vermont Historical Society, New England Historic Genealogical Society, New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, and Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., contain most valuable journals, diaries and monographs bearing on this matter.

The general historians Bancroft (either old ed. 1855 *et seq.,* or revised of 1879 can be used); Parkman (Frontenac ed. 1899, preferred), and Fiske (H. M. & Co., ed. 1902), should also be read in connection with this topic.

The American Nation, edited by A. B. Hart, covers in Vols. VI, VII, VIII, IX and X this particular period.

Special articles bearing on this subject are contained in Vols. II and IX of this Association.

The Campaign of 1758 will be thoroughly treated in the forthcoming volume of this Association (X), which is in the printer's hands and will be out within a few weeks. It will contain a rather exhaustive bibliography of the Campaign of 1758, which will generally cover the period of the French and Indian War, and students entering for this prize are advised to give this volume their attention.

The *Documentary History of New York State* in four volumes, and *Colonial Documents* in ten volumes, as well as the reports of former State Historian Hastings for 1896, 1897, his *George Clinton Papers* and *Daniel Tompkins Papers,* should be examined for original or contemporary letters and documents, as should Force's *Archives,* 1775, 1776, Spark's *Writings of Washington,* Boston, 1839, the *Annual Register,* London, from 1758 on, the *Gentleman's Magazine,* London, for the period of the Colonial Wars, &c.

The following books will be found of use in the preparation of this essay: Sherman William's *Early New York History,* N. Y., 1906; Smith's *History of New York,* N. Y., 1830 (2 vols.); William Henry Johnson's *French Pathfinders in North America,* Boston, 1905; Bryant & Gay's *United States History;* Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution;* Lossing's *History of the American Revolution* (3 vols.); Lossing's *Field Book of the War of* 1812; Lossing's *Life of Schuyler* (2 vols.); Dwight's *Travels,* II and III; Lowell's *Hessians in the Revolution,* New York, 1884; Buell's *Sir William Johnson;* W. L. Stone's *Sir William Johnson.*

The general histories of New York, Massachusetts, Vermont and Connecticut, a list of which can be compiled from Winsor, contain much that the student of this period should know.

In the files of Dawson's *Historical Magazine, The American Historical Records,* and Mrs. Lamb's *Magazine of American History* will be found valuable articles relating to Champlain, Ticonderoga, Burgoyne's Campaign, Arnold, Allen, Stark, Rogers, and many of the actors in the great war periods. Spark's *American Biography,* first series, also Headley's *Washington and His Generals,* have interesting biographies of many of the soldiers, generals and persons prominent in the history of Ticonderoga.

Among the local works relating to this region the following authorities, or some of them, can be consulted: *Lake Champlain*

Tercentenary. State Education Department, State of New York; *Three Centuries of the Champlain Valley,* Saranac Chapter of the D. A. R., Plattsburgh, 1909; Watson's *History of Essex County,* Albany, 1869; Holden's *Queensbury, New York,* Albany, 1874; S. R. Stoddard's *Guide Book of Lakes George and Champlain,* last ed.; Johnson's *History of Washington County,* Philadelphia, 1878; Stone's *History of Washington County,* New York, 1901; Smith's *History of Essex County,* 1885; Bascom's *Fort Edward Book,* Fort Edward, 1903; Sylvester's *History of Saratoga County,* Philadelphia, 1878; Palmer's *History of Lake Champlain,* Albany, 1866; Watson's *History of the Champlain Valley,* Albany, 1863; DeCosta's *Lake George,* New York, 1868; B. C. Butler's *Lake George and Lake Champlain,* Albany, 1868; Murray's *Lake Champlain and Its Shores,* 1890; Parkman's *Historic Handbook of the Northern Tour,* Boston, 1885; DeCosta's *History of Fort George, American Bibliopolist* for 1871; Hon. L. E. Chittenden's *Capture of Ticonderoga,* Rutland, 1872; Brandow's *Old Saratoga, Albany,* 1900; W. Max Reid's *Lake George and Lake Champlain,* 1910; *Fitch's Survey of Washington County, in Trans. N. Y. State Agri. Society,* 1848, 1849; Watson's *Survey of Essex County in Trans N. Y. Agri. Society,* 1852; Dr. Joseph Cook's *Home Sketches of Essex County,* Keeseville, 1858; id. *Historical Address, Centennial Ticonderoga,* 1864; Ticonderoga Historical Society, 1909.

The foregoing provides, in a general way, as has been stated, a list of references which will be found useful in the preparation of this paper. While this list is a long one, it is not made so with the expectation that any contestant will refer to all these works or to any considerable number of them, but that out of this large number they will be sure to find some to which they may have access.

It does not seem to be a fact generally known, that the State Library at Albany has a very large and excellent collection of Americana. Its reference department will be found both efficient and ready to assist any student of history so far as the rules, regulations and resources of the library will permit.

JAMES AUSTIN HOLDEN,
Acting Librarian N. Y. State Historical Association.

Upon motion it was resolved that the prizes as suggested be given and that a copy of the letter as submitted be sent to the High Schools of the State and be published in the papers.

Upon motion it was resolved that the committee consisting of Messrs. Finegan, Hawkins, and Williams, appointed at the last meeting for the purpose of corresponding with the High Schools and libraries of the state for the purpose of securing their membership in this Association be also a committee to have charge of the taking up of the matter of historical prizes in the state.

After considerable discussion in regard to the Wiltwyck records upon motion it was resolved that the present committee be discharged and that the President appoint a new committee of three and that they have power to get all possible information in regard to the desirability of publishing these records by this Association, and to make report at the next meeting. President Roberts appointed Dr. Cummings chairman of this committee with power to add two members.

Upon motion it was resolved that the following be elected to membership in the Association:

Aldrich, Charles S.	Troy
Barker, Mrs. Daniel Folger	Plattsburg
Bixby, George S.	Plattsburg
Boardman, Waldo E. M. D.	Boston, Mass.
Botsford, Elmer F.	Plattsburg
Burnham, John B.	Essex
Campbell, Rev. Thos. J.	32 Washington Sq., W., N. Y.
Carville, Miss Katherine J. C.	New Rochelle
Cole, William H.	Locust Grove
Coles, Mrs. Theodore	Oneida
Cook, George T.	Ticonderoga
Danforth, George L.	Middleburgh
Dunn, Gano	New York
Eagle, Major Clarence H.	57 Broad St., New York
Foster, C. H.	Troy
Fowler, Everett	Kingston
Francis, Lewis W.	2 Rector St., New York
Fredonia State Norman School	Fredonia
Goodrich, Mrs. Alfred L.	Oneida
Harcourt, Alden J.	Kingston
Hasbrouck, Hon. Gilbert D. B.	Kingston
Healy, A. Augustus	New York
Lamb, Mrs. George E.	Port Henry

Larkin, Orrel T.	Plattsburgh
Michael, Myron J.	Kingston
Moore, Edwin G.	Plattsburgh
Moore, Mrs. Eliza Beatty	Plattsburgh
Munger, George W.	Syracuse
Munson, Mrs. S. L.	Albany
Parks, Miss Nora Adah	Schenectady
Pierce, George W.	Albany
Robertson, Miss Jessie	Glens Falls
Snitzler, Mrs. John H.	Chicago, Ill.
Tuttle, Mrs. George F.	Plattsburgh
Van Lear, Arnold J. F.	Albany
Van Wagenen, Virgil W.	Kingston
Walters, Mrs. Katherine P.	Glens Falls
Wickes, Frank B.	Ticonderoga
Wood, Frank H.	Albany
Wood, Mrs. Jos. S.	Mt. Vernon
Wooley, J. S.	Ballston Spa.

Upon motion it was resolved that the matter of appointing a caretaker for the Lake George Battleground Park be left to the Lake George Battleground Park Committee with power.

Upon motion the following preambles and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, the building known as the "Old Schuyler Mansion" in the City of Albany, N. Y., is one of the most important historical structures in the eastern portion of the state, inasmuch as it formed the home of a very distinguished New Yorker during the colonial period and was associated with incidents in the Indian life of that time, and is indissolubly connected with the names of Washington, Hamilton, LaFayette, Burgoyne and most of the prominent Americans of the Revolutionary period, and is in grave danger of being demolished in order to make room for modern building structures, and

WHEREAS, it is a fine specimen of colonial architecture and in a good state of preservation and in the opinion of this Association should be preserved as an historic monument of the most important epoch in the earlier history of the state, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that the New York State Historical Association

respectfully petitions the legislature of the State of New York to make provision for the preservation of the historic mansion formerly owned and occupied by General Philip Schuyler of Revolutionary fame, believing that the same is eminently worthy of such action by the state government and that such purchase would meet with the approval of all citizens of this commonwealth who are now or may hereafter be interested in the preservation of this beautiful and interesting building so closely associated with the early history of this state.

RESOLVED, that the New York State Historical Association respectfully petitions the legislature of the State of New York to vest the custody and guardianship of the above mentioned building in the Board of Trustees of the Association that it may be devoted to the preservation of other historical relics and serve as a headquarters for the historical interests of the state.

Upon motion it was resolved that the local members of the Committee on Legislation take whatever steps may be possible to favor the building of the proposed state road from New York to Rouses Point.

Dr. Cummings reported that the children of the Ticonderoga public schools had by their own subscriptions purchased a bronze tablet which was to be unveiled in June, to mark one of the historic landmarks of Ticonderoga.

Upon motion it was resolved that the following amendment to the Constitution, to be entitled Section 6 of Article III, be presented at the next annual meeting: "Active members shall be elected by vote of the Association or of the Board of Trustees, or by a majority of the Executive Committee. Corresponding, Honorary and Associate members shall be elected by vote of the Association, or of the Board of Trustees, but no Associate member shall be elected by the Association, unless recommended by the Board of Trustees."

Upon motion it was resolved that the meeting adjourn.

FREDERICK B. RICHARDS,
Secretary.

STANDING COMMITTEES

Program.

Grenville M. Ingalsbe Sherman Williams
With power to add to their committee.

Legislation.

Morris Patterson Ferris James A. Holden Thomas E. Finegan
William O. Stillman Victor H. Paltsits

Marking Historical Spots.

Sherman Williams Frank H. Severance James A. Holden
W. A. E. Cummings Miss Mary H. Haldane

Establishment of Closer Relations between Historical Societies of the State.

Grenville M. Ingalsbe Frank H. Severance William O. Stillman

Necrology.

Grenville M. Ingalsbe Irvin W. Near Frederick B. Richards

Lake George Battleground Park.

James A. Holden Grenville M. Ingalsbe Elwyn Seelye

Crown Point Reservation.

Ex officio—President of Association State Architect of New York
State Historian of New York
Byrne A. Pyrke Frank H. Severance Richard L. Hand
Howland Pell W. A. E. Cummings

Publication.

The Secretary, with power to add to the committee

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

Isle du St. Sacrement.

W. Max Reid Mrs. Harry W. Watrous David Williams
Rev. Thomas J. Campbell George P. Knapp

To Amend Articles of Incorporation.

Grenville M. Ingalsbe Morris Patterson Ferris Thos. E. Finegan

On Wiltwyck Records.

W. A. E. Cummings, with power to add two members to committee

On High Schools and Libraries of State, and Prizes for Historical Essays.

Thomas E. Finegan George K. Hawkins Sherman Williams

On Old Schuyler Mansion.

William O. Stillman, with power to add two members to committee

INSIGNIA OF THE ASSOCIATION.

The Insignia of the Association consists of a badge, the pendant of which is circular in form, one and three-sixteenths inches in diameter.

Obverse: In the center is represented the discovery of the Hudson River; the "Half-Moon" is surrounded by Indian Canoes, and in the distance is shown the Palisades. At the top is the coat-of-arms of New Amsterdam and a tomahawk, arrow and Dutch sword. At the bottom is shown the seal of New York State. Upon a ribbon, surrounding the center medallion, is the legend: New York State Historical Association, and the dates 1609 and 1899; the former being the date of the discovery of New York, and the latter the date of the founding of the Historical Association.

Reverse: The Seal of the Association.

The badges are made of 14k gold, sterling silver and bronze, and will be sold to members of the Association at the following prices:

14k Gold, complete with bar and ribbon.....$11.00
Sterling Silver, complete with bar and ribbon..... 5.00
Bronze, complete with bar and ribbon..... 4.00

Application for badges should be made to the Secretary of the Association, Frederick B. Richards, Glens Falls, N. Y., who will issue permit, authorizing the member to make the purchase from the official Jewelers, J. E. Caldwell & Co., 902 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION.

The names and residences of the directors of said corporation, to hold office until the first annual meeting, and who shall be known as the Board of Trustees, are:

James A. Roberts,	Buffalo.
Timothy L. Woodruff,	Brooklyn.
Daniel C. Farr,	Glens Falls.
Everett R. Sawyer,	Sandy Hill.
James A. Holden,	Glens Falls.
Robert O. Bascom,	Fort Edward.
Morris Patterson Ferris,	Dobbs Ferry.
Elwyn Seelye,	Lake George.
Grenville M. Ingalsbe,	Sandy Hill.
Frederick B. Richards,	Ticonderoga.
Anson Judd Upson,	Glens Falls.
Asahel R. Wing,	Fort Edward.
William O. Stearns	Glens Falls.
Robert C. Alexander,	New York.
Elmer J. West,	Glens Falls.
Hugh Hastings,	Albany.
Pliny T. Sexton,	Palmyra.
Wiliam S. Ostrander,	Schuylerville.
Sherman Williams,	Glens Falls.
William L. Stone,	Mt. Vernon.
Henry E. Tremain,	New York.
William H. Tippetts,	Lake George.
John Boulton Simpson,	Bolton.
Harry W. Watrous,	Hague.
Abraham B. Valentine,	New York.

The name of such corporation is the "New York State Historical Association."

The principal objects for which said corporation is formed are:

First: To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second: To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures, and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third: To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the state of New York and to establish a museum therein for their preservation.

Fourth: To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth: To acquire by purchase, gift, devise or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

The territory in which the operations of this corporation are to be principally conducted is the State of New York.

The principal office of said corporation is to be located at the City of Albany, New York.

The number of directors of said corporation, to be known as the Board of Trustees, is twenty-five.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

This Society shall be known as "New York State Historical Association.

ARTICLE II.

Objects.

Its objects shall be:

First. To promote and encourage original historical research.

Second. To disseminate a greater knowledge of the early history of the State, by means of lectures and the publication and distribution of literature on historical subjects.

Third. To gather books, manuscripts, pictures, and relics relating to the early history of the State and to establish a museum at Caldwell, Lake George, for their preservation.

Fourth. To suitably mark places of historic interest.

Fifth. To acquire by purchase, gift, devise, or otherwise, the title to, or custody and control of, historic spots and places.

ARTICLE III.

Members

Section 1. Members shall be of four classes—Active, Associate, Corresponding and Honorary. Active and Associate members only shall have a voice in the management of the Society.

Section 2. All persons interested in American history shall be eligible for Active membership.

Section 3. Persons residing outside the state of New York, interested in historical investigation, may be made Corresponding members.

Section 4. Persons who have attained distinguished eminence as historians may be made Honorary members.

Section 5. Persons who shall have given to the Association donations of money, time, labor, books, documents, MSS. collections of antiquities, art or archaeology of a value equivalent in the judgment of the trustees to a life membership may be made Associate members.

ARTICLE IV.

Management.

Section 1. The property of the Association shall be vested in, and the affairs of the Association conducted by the Board of Trustees to be elected by the Association. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees shall be filled by the remaining members of the Board, the appointee to hold office until the next annual meeting of the Association.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees shall have power to suspend or expel members of the Association for cause, and to restore them to membership after a suspension or expulsion. No member shall be suspended or expelled without first having been given ample opportunity to be heard in his or her own defense.

Section 3. The first Board of Trustees shall consist of those designated in the Articles of Incorporation, who shall meet as soon as may be after the adoption of this Constitution and divide themselves into three classes of, as nearly as may be, eight members each, such classes to serve respectively, one until the first annual meeting, another until the second annual meeting, and the third until the third annual meeting of the Association. At each annual meeting the Association shall elect eight or nine members (as the case may be) to serve as Trustees for the ensuing three years, to fill the places of the class whose terms then expire.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall have no power to bind the Association to any expenditure of money beyond the actual resources of the Association except by the consent of the Board of Trustees, expressed in writing and signed by every member thereof.

ARTICLE V.

Officers.

Section 1. The officers of the Association shall be a President, three Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, and an Assistant Secretary, all of whom shall be elected by the Board of Trustees from its own number, at its first meeting after the annual meeting of the Association, and shall

hold office for one year, or until their successors are chosen. Temporary officers shall be chosen by the Incorporators to act until an election as aforesaid, by the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. The Board of Trustees may appoint such other officers, committees, or agents, and delegate to them such powers as it sees fit, for the prosecution of its work.

Section 3. Vacancies in any office or committee may be filled by the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VI.

Fees and Dues.

Section 1. Each person on being elected to active membership between January and July of any year, shall pay into the Treasury of the Association the sum of two dollars, and thereafter on the first day of January in each year a like sum for his or her annual dues. Any person elected to membership subsequent to July 1st, and who shall pay into the treasury two dollars, shall be exempt from dues until January 1st of the year next succeeding his or her consummation of membership.

Section 2. Any member of the Association may commute his or her annual dues by the payment of twenty-five dollars at one time, and thereby become a life member exempt from further payments.

Section 3. Any member may secure membership which shall descend to a member of his or her family qualified under the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association for membership therein, in perpetuity, by the payment at one time of two hundred and fifty dollars. The person to hold the membership may be designated in writing by the creator of such membership, or by the subsequent holder thereof subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.

Section 4. All receipts from life and perpetual memberships shall be set aside and vested as a special fund, the income only to be used for current expenses.

Section 5. Associate, Honorary and Corresponding Members and persons who hold Perpetual Membership shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Section 6. The board of Trustees shall have power to excuse the non-payment of dues, and to suspend or expel members for non-payment when their dues remain unpaid for more than six months.

Section 7. Historical Societies, Educational institutions of all kinds, libraries, learned societies, patriotic societies, or any incorporated or unincorporated association for the advancement of learning and intellectual welfare of mankind, shall be considered a "person" under Section 2 of this article.

ARTICLE VII.

Meetings.

Section 1. The annual meeting of the Association shall be held on the last Tuesday of July in each year. Notice thereof shall be sent to each member at least ten days prior thereto.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Association may be called at any time by the Board of Trustees and must be called upon the written request of ten members. The notice of such meeting shall specify the object thereof, and no business shall be transacted thereat excepting that designated in the notice.

Section 3. Ten members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Association.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall arrange for the holding of a series of meetings at Lake George during the summer months, for the readings of original papers on history and kindred subjects, and for social intercourse between the members and their guests.

ARTICLE VIII.

Seal

The seal of the Association shall be a group of statuary representing the Mohawk Chief, King Hendrick, in the act of proving to Gen. William Johnson the unwisdom of dividing his forces on the eve of the battle of Lake George. Around this a circular band bearing the legend, New York State Historical Association, 1899.

ARTICLE IX.

Amendments.

Amendments to the Constitution may be made at any annual meeting, or at a special meeting called for that purpose. Notice of a proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least thirty days before the day upon which action is taken thereon.

The adoption of an amendment shall require the favorable vote of two-thirds of those present at a duly-constituted meeting of the Association.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

Members.

Candidates for membership in the Association shall be proposed by one member and seconded by another, and shall be elected by the Board of Trustees. Three adverse votes shall defeat an election.

ARTICLE II.

Board of Trustees.

Section 1. The Board of Trustees may make such rules for its own government as it may deem wise, and which shall not be inconsistent with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Association. Five members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

Section 2. The board of trustees shall elect one of their own number to preside at the meeting of the Board in the absence of the President.

Section 3. The Board of Trustees shall at each annual meeting of the Association render a full report of its proceedings during the year last past.

Section 4. The Board of Trustees shall hold at least four meetings in each year. At each of such meetings it shall consider and act upon the names of candidates proposed for membership.

Section 5. The Board of Managers shall each year appoint committees to take charge of the annual gathering of the Association at Lake George.

ARTICLE III.

President

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and perform such other duties as may be delegated to him by the Association of the Board of Trustees. He shall be ex-officio a member of all committees.

ARTICLE IV.

Vice Presidents.

The Vice Presidents shall be denominated First, Second and Third Vice Presidents. In the absence of the President his duties shall devolve upon the senior Vice President.

ARTICLE V.

Treasurer.

Section 1. The Treasurer shall have charge of all the funds of the Association. He shall keep accurate books of account, which shall at all times be open to the inspection of the Board of Trustees. He shall present a full and comprehensive statement of the Association's financial condition, its receipts and expenditures, at each annual meeting, and shall present a brief statement to the Board of Trustees at each meeting. He shall pay out money only on the approval of the majority of the Executive Committee, or on the resolution of the Board of Trustees.

Section 2. Before assuming the duties of his office, the Treasurer-elect shall with a surety to be approved by the Board execute to the Association his bond in the sum of one thousand dollars, conditioned for the faithful performance of his duties as Treasurer.

Section 3. The President shall, thirty days prior to the annual meeting of the Association, appoint two members of the Association who shall examine the books and vouchers of the Treasurer and audit his accounts, and present their report to the Association at its annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI.

Secretary.

The Secretary shall preserve accurate minutes, of the transactions of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, and shall conduct the correspondence of the Association. He shall notify the members of meetings, and perform such other duties as he may be directed to perform by the Association or by the Board of Trustees. He may delegate any portion of his duties to the Assistant Secretary.

ARTICLE VII.

Executive Committee.

The officers of the Association shall constitute an Executive Committee. Such committe shall direct the business of the Association between meetings of the Board of Trustees, but shall have no power to establish or declare a policy for the Association, or to bind it in any way except in relation to routine work. The Committee shall have no power to direct a greater expenditure than fifty dollars without the authority of the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VIII.

Procedure

Section 1. The following, except when otherwise ordered by the

Association, shall be the order of business at the annual meetings of the Association.

Call to order.

Reading of minutes of previous annual, and of any special meeting, and acting thereon.

Reports of Officers and Board of Trustees.

Reports of Standing Committees.

Reports of Special Committees

Unfinished business.

Election.

New business.

Adjournment.

Section 2. The procedure at all meetings of the Association and of the Board of Trustees, where not provided for in this Constitution and By-Laws, shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order.

Section 3. The previous question shall not be put to vote at any meeting unless seconded by at least three members.

Section 4. All elections shall be by ballot, except where only one candidate is nominated for an office.

Section 5. All notices shall be sent personally or by mail to the address designated in writing by the member to the Secretary.

ARTICLE IX.

Nominating Committee.

A committee of three shall be chosen by the Association at its annual meeting, to nominate Trustees to be voted for at the next annual meeting. Such Committee shall file its report with the Secretary of this Association at least thirty days prior to the next annual meeting. The Secretary shall mail a copy of such report to every member of the Association with the notice of the annual meeting at which the report is to be acted upon. The action of such committee shall, however, in no wise interfere with the power of the Association to make its own nominations, but all such independent nominations shall be sent to the secretary at least twenty days prior to the annual meeting. A copy thereof shall be sent to each member by the Secretary with the notice of meeting, and shall be headed "Independent Nominations." If the Nominating Committee fails for any reason to make its report so that it may be sent out with the notice of the annual meeting, the Society may make its own nominations at such annual meeting.

ARTICLE X.

Amendments.

These By-Laws may be amended at any duly-constituted meeting of the Association by a two-thirds vote of the members present. Notice of the proposed amendment with a copy thereof must have been mailed to each member at least twenty days before the day upon which action thereon is taken.

MEMBERS NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Adams, Charles Francis, LL. D.	23 Court St., Boston, Mass.
Beauchamp, Rev. William Martin, S. T. D.	121 Mark Ave., Syracuse.
Hadley, Arthur Twining, LL. D.	Pres. Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Roosevelt, Col. Theodore, LL. D., Ph. D.	"The Outlook," 287 Fourth Ave., New York.
Wilson, Woodrow, LL. D., Ph. D., Litt. D.	Pres. Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

McMaster, John Bach, A. M., Ph. D., Litt. D.	University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wheeler, Arthur Martin, LL. D., M. A.	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

Crandall, Henry	Glens Falls.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Barnhart, John Hendley, A. M., M. D.	N. Y. Botanical Garden, Bronx Park.
Bixby, W. K.	Bolton.
Field, Cortlandt de Peyster	Peekskill.
Fulton, Louis M.	31 Nassau St., New York.
Hand, Hon. Richard L., LL. D.	Elizabethtown.

Hanna, Charles A.	Room 174, U. S. Custom House, New York.
Hartley, Mrs. Frances G.	232 Madison Ave., New York.
Howland, Fred D.	Hudson Falls.
Jones, Mrs. Oliver Livingston	116 W. 72nd St., New York.
Planten, John R.	44 Eight Ave., Brooklyn.
Potts, Charles Edwin	170 Rugby Road, Brooklyn.
See, Mrs. Horace	Care Mrs. Miner, 264 So. Franklin St., Wilkes Barre, Penn.
Stillman, Charles Chauncey	9 E. 67th St., New York.
Webb, Dr. W. Seward	51 E. 44th St., New York.
Witherbee, Hon. Frank S.	Port Henry.

MEMBERS.

Abbatt, William	141 East 25th St., N. Y.
Abbott, Rev. Lyman, D. D., LL. D.	"The Outlook," 287 Fourth Ave., New York City.
Abercrombie, David T.	197 Ballantine Parkway, Newark, N. J.
Abrahams, Abraham	420 Fulton St., Brooklyn.
Abrams, Alfred W.	429 Western Ave., Albany.
Acker, Charles E.	Ossining-on-the-Hudson.
Acker, Milo	Hornell.
Ackerly, Orville B.	210 Warburton Ave., Yonkers.
Adams, Henry Sherman	152 Montague St., Brooklyn.
Adams, Rev. John Quincy	Auburn.
Adamson, W. H.	Glens Falls.
Addington, Hon. George	County Building, Albany.
Adler, Jesse, A. M., M. D.	22 E. 62nd St., New York City.
Aiken, C. E.	Auburn.
Ainsworth, Hon. Danforth E.	93 State St., Albany.
Aldrich, Charles S.	7 Collins Ave., Troy.
Alexander, Hon. D. S.	Buffalo.
Arnold, Alvaro D.	Hudson Falls.
Arthur, Miss L. Louise	515 Lexington Ave., New York
Ashworth, Percy C.	Ticonderoga.
Atkins, DuBois G.	43 John St., Kingston.

Atherton, F. C.	20 Gates Circle, Buffalo.
Atkins, Hon. T. Astley	73 Nassau St., New York.
Auringer, Rev. O. C.	Forestport.
Avon High School	Avon.
Bacon, Carroll B., M. D.	Waterloo.
Bacon, Edgar Mayhew	Tarrytown.
Badger, Rev. Frank Evans	Forestport.
Baker, Rev. E. Folsom	East Aurora.
Baker, Frank M.	Owego, Tioga Co.
Baker, Fred I.	Fort Ann.
Baker, George O.	Clyde.
Baker, Hon. Gilbert H.	Penn Yann.
Baker, John W.	Rochester.
Baldwin, Stephen C.	190 Montague St., Brooklyn.
Ballard, Rev. Geo. Grey	Fredonia.
Ballard, W. J.	Jamaica.
Bandelier, Adolph F.	432 W. 160th St., New York.
Banker, Dr. Silas J.	Fort Edward.
Banta, J. Edward	93 Walnut St., Binghamton.
Barber, Arthur William, L.L. M.	32 Nassau St., New York.
Barber, Junius E.	Glens Falls.
Barcus, James Q.	57 State St., Albany.
Barker, Mrs. Daniel Folger	Plattsburg.
Bardeen, C. W.	315 E. Washington St., Syracuse.
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